# NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

BER 1950

VOLUME XXXIX, NO. 9

| Illinois | U | Library  |
|----------|---|----------|
|          |   | - DIUI y |

| Nothing to FearEdit                       | orial |
|---|-------|
| A City Beats the RacketsFrederic Sondern  | , Jr. |
| Losing the 'Human' Touch                  | bern  |
| Kansas City Leaps a River                 | inter |
| They All Get into the Show                | owen  |
| Proposed Charter Drafted for Philadelphia | 455   |
| Two Counties to Vote on Manager Plan      | 463   |
| Denmark Elects New Folketing              | 466   |
| Money Rate Dispute Harbinger of Controls  | 468   |
| Citizen Groups Probe City Operations      | 471   |
| State Covernment Reports Pile IIn         | 4.75  |

PUBLISHED BY THE
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

### The National Municipal Review

goes to all members of the National Municipal League. Those who do not desire to become members of the League may subscribe to the REVIEW by paying five dollars a year in advance; Canadian subscription rate \$5.25; foreign \$5.50; single copies 50 cents.

ALFRED WILLOUGHBY, EDITOR

JOHN BAUER, Public Utilities JOHN E. BEBOUT, Research RICHARD S. CHILDS GEORGE H. HALLETT, JR. Proportional Representation

H. F. ALDERFER, Pennsylvania
CARTER W. ATKINS, Connecticut
MYRON H. ATKINSON, North Dakots
CHESTER BIESEN, Washington
D. BENTON BISER, Maryland
ERNEST M. BLACK, Oklehome
IOHN C. BOLLENS, California
WILLIAM L. BRADSHAW, Missouri
ARTHUR W. BROMAGE, Michigan
ALVIN A. BURGER, New Jersey
CHARLTON F. CHUTE, Pennsylvania
WELDON COOPER, Fighins
EDWIN A. COTTRELL, California
C. A. CROSSER, Washington
D. MACK EASTON, Colorado
WILLIAM O. FARBER, South Dakote
DAVID FUDGE, Oklahoms
PHILIP L. GAMBLE, Massachusetts
ROBERT M. GOODRICH, Rhode Island
MRS, LEONARD HAAS, Georgia
M. H. HARRIS, Utah
SAM HAYS, Afkanses
ROBERT B. HIGHAW, Missouri M. H. HARRIS, OSSAM HAYS, Arkanses
ROBERT B. HIGHSAW, Mississippi
JACK E. HOLMES, New Mexico
ORREN C. HORMELL, Maine
HERMAN KEHRLI, Oregon PAUL KELSO, Arizona

ELSIE S. PARKER, ASSISTANT EDITOR

CONTRIBUTING BUTTORS

ELWYN A. MAUCK, County and Township H. M. OLMSTED, City, State and Nation WADE S. SMITH, Taxation and Finance WM. REDIN WOODWARD, Proportional Representation

STATE CORRESPOND

DRYDENTS

DRYDEN KUSER, Nevade
LANE W. LANCASTER, Nebraska
JOHN D. LANGMUIR, New Hampshire
CHRISTIAN L. LARSEN, Maryland
STUART A. MACCORKLE, Texas
BOYD A. MARTIN, Idaho
EDWARD M. MARTIN, Illinois
JAMES W. MARTIN, Kentucky
DAYTON D. McKEAN, New Hampshire
EDWIN B. MepHERON, Indiana
WILLIAM MILLER, New Jersey
LENNOX L. MOAK, Pennsylvania
ANDREW E. NUQUIST, Vermont
FRANK W. PRESCOTT, Tennessee
ABBETT PULLIAM, New York
JOHN E. REEVES, Kentucky
ROLAND R. RENNE, Montana
PAUL N. REYNOLDS, Wisconsin
RUSSELL M. ROSS, Joues
LLOYD M. SHORT, Minnesote
GEORGE G. SIPPRELL, New York
JOHN G. STUTX, Kaness
HERMAN H. TRACHSEL, Wyoming
PAUL W. WAGER, North Carolina
HARVEY WALKER, Ohio
YORK Y. WILLBERN, Alabama
JOHN F. WILLMOTT, Florida DRYDEN KUSER, Nevade

#### Published by THE NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Charles Edison, West Orange, N. J., President George H., Gallup, Princeton, N. J., Vice President J. W. Clise, Seattle, Vice President Carl H. Pforzheimer, New York, Tressurer

William Collins, Finance Chairman Alfred Willoughby, Executive Secretary John E. Bebout, Assistant Secretary George H. Hallett, Jr., Associate Secretary

#### COUNCIL

Richard S. Childs, New York, Chairman

William Anderson, Minneapolis William Anderson, Minneapolis
James L. Beebe, Los Angeles
Frederick L. Bird, New York
Albert D. Cash, Cincinnati
William Collins, Yonkers, N. Y.
L. P. Cookingham, Kansas City, Mo.
James A. Cunningham, Chicago
Thomas C. Desmond, Newburgh, N. Y.
Karl Detter, Leland, Mich.
Harold W. Dodds, Princeton, N. J.
Rev. Edward Dowling, S.J., St. Louis
C. A. Dykstra, Los Angeles C. A. Dykstra, Los Angeles
J. W. Esterline, Indianapolis
B. H. Faulkner, Montelsir, N. J. Clarence Francis, Bronxville, N. Y. Arnold Frye, New York Lloyd E. Graybiel, San Francisco

w York, Chairman

Harrison S. Hires, Berwyn, Pa.
Robert W. Johnson, New Brunawick, N. J.
Mrs. Siegel W. Judd, Grand Rapids
John S. Linen, New York
Mrs. Virgil Loeb, St. Louis
Mrs. Thomas H. Mahony, Boston
D. K. Pfeffer, New York
Ed. P. Phillips, Richmond
Walter M. Phillips, Richmond
Walter M. Phillips, Philadelphia
Lawson Purdy, New York
Harry W. Schacter, Louisville, Ky.
Murray Seasongood, Cincinnati
Henry L. Shattuck, Boston
George S. Van Schaick, New York
Richard Weil, Jr., New York
A. C. (Jack) White, San Antonio
Wilson W. Wyatt, Louisville

PUBLICATION OFFICE: 150 Fremont Street, Worcester, Mass. EDITORIAL AND BUSINESS OFFICE: 299 Broadway, New York 7, N. Y. Entered as Second Class Matter July 11, 1932, at the Post Office at Worcester, Mass.

# National Municipal Review

Volume XXXIX, No. 9

Total Number 403

#### Published monthly except August

#### By NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

#### Contents for October 1950

| THE LEAGUE'S BUSINESS   | 430 |
|---|-----|
| EDITORIAL COMMENT   | 431 |
| A CITY BEATS THE RACKETS Frederic Sondern, Jr.                            | 433 |
| Losing the 'Human' Touch York Willbern                                    | 439 |
| KANSAS CITY LEAPS A RIVER William O. Winter                               | 445 |
| THEY ALL GET INTO THE SHOW Don L. Bowen                                   | 450 |
| News in Review  |     |
| CITY, STATE AND NATION H. M. Olmsted                                      | 455 |
| COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP Elwyn A. Mauck  | 463 |
| PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward | 466 |
| TAXATION AND FINANCE Wade S. Smith  | 468 |
| CITIZEN ACTION Elsie S. Parker  | 471 |
| RESEARCHER'S DIGEST John E. Bebout  | 475 |
| Books in Review   | 481 |

The contents of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW are indexed in the Index to Legal Periodicals, the International Index to Periodicals and in Public Affairs Information Service.

Copyright October 1950 by NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

## Civic Teamwork Is Theme of Buffalo Conference

The theme of the League's 1950 National Conference on Government, which will meet at the Hotel Statler in Buffalo, New York, November 20, 21, 22, will be "Civic Teamwork."

In announcing the acceptance of the invitation to take the Conference to Buffalo for the third time in the League's 56-year history, Charles Edison, president, said, "The executive committee was strongly influenced in its choice by the fact that the Buffalo area is evidently going through a period of study and experimentation, governmentally speaking."

"Among the important developments," Mr. Edison said, "is the recent transfer to Erie County of a number of local functions—health, libraries, hospitals and probation. This and other experiments have significance for students of the

metropolitan area problem which has been intensified since the war."

It is the League's policy, President Edison pointed out, to hold the Conference in places which, because of current conditions, "constitute a laboratory in which problems of citizenship and government are under consideration and the solution of which would be helpful by example to citizens everywhere."

The first Buffalo Conference of the National Municipal League was in November 1910 when Charles J. Bonaparte, then secretary of the Navy, was in his last year in office as second president of the League. The second Buffalo Conference was in 1931. Richard S. Childs, now chairman of the League's Council, was president of the League at that time. Mr. Childs was also a speaker at the 1910 Conference.

Throughout the Conference speakers and subjects will, as Mr. Edison indicated, stress the necessity for the American way to demonstrate more convincingly than ever the civic teamwork which is the key to self-government.

At general and group sessions, morning, afternoon and evening, outstanding civic leaders and public officials will join with the entire Conference membership in exploring such subjects as blighted districts and urban redevelopment, the modernization and strengthening of county government, civic education both at home and in areas overseas for which the United States is responsible, the efforts of organized crime to control local government and politics, how to lighten the burden of the individual voter and make him more effective, successful Little Hoover Commissions, what happens to a citizen when he is elected to a city council or board of education, local finance in a defense economy, how citizens win civic battles and what can be done about metropolitan disintegration.

Ample opportunity for discussion will be afforded in group sessions under experienced leadership Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday mornings. Outstanding speakers are scheduled for addresses at luncheon, afternoon and evening meetings as well as for introductory talks in group sessions. League President Charles Edison will be the principal speaker at the annual dinner Tuesday night. The National Association of Civic Secretaries and the Proportional Representation League will hold supplementary sessions and the Association of Municipal Public Relations Officers will cooperate in a Monday morning session.

Look for more details and names of speakers and participants in the November NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW and in the preliminary program. For reservations write early to the Hotel Statler, Buffalo, being sure to say you are attending the

National Municipal League's National Conference on Government.

### Editorial Comment

### Nothing to Fear

THIS is the season when ghosts are supposed to walk in corn fields and witches ride across a harvest moon that looks like a pumpkin. These are amiable conceits that scare nobody, not even the small boy who tries to scare himself by looking at his masked face in a mirror.

Unfortunately, however, this is the political season in which supposedly grown-up Americans do succeed in frightening themselves with stories of ghosts, witches and masked riders even less authentic than the fabulous yarns of Allhallow Eve.

There are fashions in ghosts and witches. The fashion this fall is to see in the political opposition a striking resemblance to the faceless men of the Kremlin. The international menace of communism is real, but nobody has any business conjuring up red specters to scare voters into supporting him for a local office. Any candidate who resorts to it anmounces that he has no valid appeal. If voters find they have a choice between such a candidate and one who really talks about local issues, they've got a pretty sure rule of thumb for distinguishing between a demagogue and a potential municipal statesman.

Appeals to groundless fears and screaming at ghosts that never walked is particularly blameworthy and harmful when it is used to defeat needed improvement of such fundamental devices as city charters and state constitutions. Analyze the "arguments" commonly used against

adoption of a council-manager charter or against modernization of an outmoded state constitution. Ninety per cent of them are appeals to fear. The people of a boss-ridden city are told the manager will be a dictator despite the record to the contrary in close to a thousand communities. A constitutional convention, it is alleged, will be over-run with communists and radicals. This, despite the fact that there never was a really radical state constitutional convention and the even more convincing fact that there aren't enough reds in the state to elect a single member.

Or the appeal to fear may be a trifle more subtle. The people of a state without an income tax are told that a convention would "open the door" to this horror. The people are asked to continue to put up with a bad constitution because they don't trust themselves and their representatives with the power to tax.

Democracy cannot survive where the people do not trust themselves. Someone else will rule if the people won't. It is imperative to strengthen, not to weaken, local and state institutions. They cannot be strengthened without removing some of the shackles imposed by fear so that Washington won't have to do things that we could do better nearer home.

There is in this time of world crisis even greater need than ever for firm minds and steady hands. Every citizen, every campaigner on a public question who diverts attention from the serious business of making self-

government work to ghosties and ghoulies of his own imagining is a

virtual, if not an intentional, traitor to his country.

### Some Good Shortening

PROGRESS toward the adoption of the "short ballot" principle has seemed glacially slow, but a backward look over 30 years shows that the continued pressure of local civic organizations has achieved important reductions in the number of elective state and local officers.

A recent examination of the voter's task in the city of New York showed an amazingly changed picture. By some transfers from elective to appointive basis, by lengthening of terms and by a drastic reduction in the size of the city council, the following has resulted:

Governor, lieutenant governor, comptroller and attorney general now elective for four years instead of two.

Secretary of state, state treasurer, state engineer and surveyor, once elective for two-year terms, now appointive.

Sixty-seven assemblymen elected for two-year terms instead of one-year terms.

City council, 25 members elected for four years instead of 70 elected every two years.

Appointive experts, including sheriff, register and medical examiner under civil service competitive system instead of five sheriffs, four registers, five county clerks and eleven coroners, formerly elective. Thus the total elective in New York in a four-year cycle has been brought down from 578 to 293, just about half.

The individual task which confronts each New York voter on his voting machine each year calls for selecting ten to fourteen as compared with twenty or more a generation ago and as compared with the nonsense of 56 in Cleveland, 49 in Detroit and 39 in Seattle. Federal, gubernatorial and municipal elections are almost completely separated.

But ten to fourteen is still too many. Several of these on every ballot are judges, obscured by the fact that as many as 30 out of 136 such elective judges come up for election in one part of the city or another each year to divide the public's languid scrutiny. A switch to appointive judges—one-third of the city's judges are appointive already—would bring the ballots down to eight in 1950, none in 1951, five in 1952, six in 1953.

These elective judges are appointed anyway—by the leaders of "opposing" political parties, who get together cozily and agree on candidates for the judiciary. This effectively freezes out independents and produces a make-believe election.

# A City Beats the Rackets

Youngstown's 'amateur' mayor and gang-busting police chief wipe out city's underworld and banish hoodlums.

By FREDERIC SONDERN, JR.\*

THREE years ago, when young Charles Packard Henderson pecame mayor of Youngstown, Ohio, that steel city of 125,000 people was wide open. Bookies and numbers men swarmed on the main streets and at the gates of the steel mills, gambling rooms raked in fabulous sums on pay days and prostitutes openly plied their trade while unkempt policemen looked on and collected their graft. Shootings were commonplace, bandits flourished and even the traffic laws were rarely enforced. The town was a mecca for hoodlums. All were protected by city officials handsomely paid off by a tightly organized group of racketeers who grossed more than \$5,000,000 a year from their various vicious enterprises.

Today Youngstown is one of the most orderly municipalities in the midwest. The gamblers, prostitutes and racketeers—no longer able to buy protection from city hall—have moved away. Immaculately uniformed officers who will not "fix" even a parking ticket patrol the streets. While crime elsewhere increases, Youngstown's annual report

to the FBI shows a steady drop in all categories of law breaking. "I never thought we could have honest government here," a veteran police sergeant said to me. "But when folks decide they really want to stop racket men and crooked politicians, they can do it—and fast."

John Vitullo, Democratic boss of Mahoning County and chairman of Youngstown's board of elections, laughed when Charles Hendersonlawyer, member of one of the town's oldest families and a political greenhorn of only 36-was nominated on the Republican ticket in 1947. "This college guy," sneered the boss, "wants to clean us up, huh. Is that a riot. We'll still be here long after he's gone." Apparently Vitullo's political machine was indestructible. His district leaders and captains were under iron discipline turned out the vote of the steel workers with clocklike precision.

At his right hand was Joe "the Wolf" Di Carlo, a pudgy, middle aged, extremely dangerous veteran of the rackets with 27 arrests on his record and close connections with the powerful Purple Gang of Detroit and the Capone syndicate of Chicago. The pasty-faced, softly spoken Sicilian is one of those shadowy but immensely influential figures, wealthy heirs of the prohibition era gangs, whose nationwide, interlocked operations Senator Estes Kefauver's Senate committee has been tracking.

<sup>\*</sup>Mr. Sondern, as roving editor of The Reader's Digest, has been specializing on law enforcement subjects during the past few years. Previously he had a long record of service first as central European correspondent for the McClure Newspaper Syndicate from 1932 to 1938; later with The Reader's Digest as war correspondent for the duration of World War II.

Di Carlo has long been a close friend of Pete Licavoli and Joe Maceo of Detroit, Joe Massei of Florida, Charles Fischetti of Chicago and Joe Adonis of New York—all names that appear again and again in Kefauver's records. While these gang leaders are not formally organized, they all know each other, invariably meet during their Florida sojourns and have intricate working arrangements with each other.

Di Carlo, for example, had acquired control of the Youngstown outlet of the wire service which supplies detailed horse-racing information to the entire country-and exacted a revenue of 50 per cent of the profits of all bookmakers in the steel city-almost \$1,000,000 a year. Not only did Di Carlo contribute heavily out of his generous income to Boss Vitullo's campaign funds but he also ordered out his army of bookmakers, slip writers and torpedoes every election day to help get out the votes. In exchange, Di Carlo and his hoodlums were above Youngstown's law.

On one occasion, "Fats" Aiello—one of Di Carlo's lieutenants and a notorious gunman—shot at a recalcitrant subordinate in a crowded downtown Youngstown restaurant and was arrested. The next morning the mayor himself—a staunch and popular party wheelhorse—listened to Aiello's contrite explanation that his gun had fallen on the floor and gone off by itself. "That could have happened to anybody," remarked the mayor solemnly. The gangster was turned loose without delay.

Shielded by such privilege, the

Youngstown syndicate became more and more ruthless in stamping out competition. One cafe owner had made a success of a dog-racing track which drew heavy betting money. He refused an offer from the syndicate to buy into his operation. A few days later, two men walked into his bar, drank some beer, drew their guns and pumped lead into him and his brother while other patrons cowered against the walls. "Hey," said one of the hoodlums as he drained his glass before departing, "this one ain't dead yet." He fired twice more to make sure. The county sheriff's office and the Youngstown police put it down as "just another gang killing" and were so slow in their investigation that the murderers got well away. The FBI eventually found one of them-on the Arizona ranch of one of the Detroit associates of the Youngstown syndicate.

#### Veteran Disappears

A Youngstown veteran who had been plunging disastrously on the horses realized his folly, painted "You Can't Win, Look at Me" on a pair of sandwich boards and began to picket one of the town's largest bookmaking establishments. wife called the police next day to report him missing. He has not been heard from since. There were a series of such disappearances of people who tangled with the syndicate's operations. The stock answer by the police to the families of the vanished men was, "He probably just beat it."

The Youngstown gangsters' supreme gesture of contempt for the law was the Jungle Inn-a fortresslike gambling casino and racket headquarters in a miniature town which they had created just outside the Youngstown city line. A brick and steel turret, always manned by a gangster with a tommy gun, guarded the entrance to the rambling building which housed sumptuous layouts for every kind of gambling. Other gun turrets-plastic bubbles worked into the wall decorationdominated the interior at strategic locations. There were always several dozen heavily armed thugs on call to defend the inn against hijacking or any other trouble-all with badges and duly sworn in as authorized constables of Hall's Corners. The mayor, the councilmen and about a hundred others who made up the town of Hall's Corners all worked at the inn. Admiring gangsters from Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago and the coastal crime capitals considered it one of the finest setups in the country. From time to time the county authorities would stage a token raid, descend on the inn with a few trusted deputies and thereafter announce that they had found no evidence of gambling.

What Boss Vitullo, Di Carlo and their hangers-on—apparently so secure in their tight little empire—did not recognize was the change in the temper of their public. Youngstown, although it liked its gambling, was not amused by the murders, the traffic accidents, the corruption in city hall. The civic conscience which at a certain point always begins to operate in our communities was stirring. To the

amazement of the boss and his machine, Charles Henderson's campaign for decent government caught like a brush fire in all sections of the population. Turning down all large contributions to his campaign fund that might have strings attached, this unorthodox politician asked for small donations from the people who really believed in him. He got more than 2,500 and an army of volunteer bell ringers and stump speakers. He was no orator and made few promises; he was a Republican, a Princeton graduate, a member of the leading clubs-all points against him politically in the Mahoning Valley. But the steel workers liked his clean cut looks and manner anyway and decided to vote for him no matter what their precinct captains said. Henderson was elected by a thumping majority.

#### Amateur vs. Professional

"And there I was," the mayor says, "an amateur up against one of the slickest professional combinations in the country. And most of the people I could trust were amateurs too."

One of Henderson's first moves was to ask J. Edgar Hoover to recommend a good law enforcement officer for police chief. The FBI director gave him a choice of three and the mayor picked Edward J. Allen, a young detective sergeant in Erie, Pennsylvania, who had made an unusual record at the FBI's National Police Academy in Washington.

Son of a policeman, Allen had come up the hard way. In Erie, in 1941, he had uncovered a highly

organized prostitute ring operating under powerful protection. Despite repeated warnings from his superiors he doggedly gathered evidence and completed an airtight case against the vice racketeers, only to see indictments invalidated on a technicality by the judge.

Later another judge quashed an equally conclusive case which Allen had built up against one of the racketeers who had tried to bribe him into silence. Suicidal as the project might be for a young police sergeant, Allen made up his mind to get that judge removed from the bench. An unconvincing talker, the sergeant spent evenings at the public library studying public speaking and practiced elocution until late at night. Then he stumped the service clubs and civic organizations telling his story until public pressure and the Bar Association compelled the governor to investigate. And the judge was suspended. That was typical of Allen. "I hate racketeers and I hate crooked public officials," he says, pounding his desk, "and I'm going to spend my life rooting them out."

At Youngstown's police headquarters, the new chief found the kind of conditions that unfortunately exist in a shockingly large number of our towns and cities where the citizens fail to take sufficient interest in law enforcement. Many of his underpaid, poorly trained men had never even been given a chance to try their corroded revolvers. Their uniforms, which they had to buy themselves, were old and badly fitted. Even the higher officers knew little about the laws they were supposed to enforce.

Many owed their jobs to district politicians in return for cash considerations of \$1,000 up. Vital records were kept in old shoe-boxes, the fingerprint files were in hopeless confusion. The policemen themselves were completely demoralized. "The hoods used to spit when we went by to show what they thought of us," a veteran patrolman told me bitterly. "Make a raid or a pinch on a guy that had protection and you'd get fired."

#### Police Force Reorganized

One of Allen's first moves was to put the entire force into neat new uniforms purchased by the city. They were given new guns and drilled in the newest techniques of police shooting developed by the FBI. Overnight, political appointments were wiped out; also Allen let it be known that any political backing of an officer would react immediately in his disfavor. The chief demanded that the officer on the beat and in the patrol car, the sergeant at the desk, should be a representative symbol of decent government-courteous, alert, incorruptible. The old timers laughed; they had heard all that before from other new chiefs, for a few weeks. Cruising the city at all hours, Allen poked into every corner of it. Any officer that he found being insolent to a citizen, sloppy, or not on his job got short shrift. With surprising speed a new police force was born.

Then one of Di Carlo's lieutenants called on Allen. "O.K., chief," said the gambler calmly. "You've had

long enough to show the voters that you're a good cop. We've kept pretty quiet. Now--what's the setup going to be? You can have anvthing within reason." Allen has unusually clear, penetrating eyes under heavy brows set in a taut face that can become very stern. He stared wordlessly at his visitor for a full minute, tapping on the desk with a paper cutter. "There isn't going to be any setup," he said finally in a flat, quiet voice. "Get going, keep going and tell the rest of the boys to do the same if they know what's healthy for them -right now." Di Carlo's emissary left abruptly.

#### Racketeers on the Run

During the next weeks squads of policemen descended on gambling rooms, brothels and hoodlums' hangouts from one end of the city to the other. There were neither warnings before the raids nor "fixes" after. The city courts, for the first time, imposed really heavy fines. Youngstown watched, almost unable to believe its eyes. The once mighty Boss Vitullo was a broken man and died soon after.

Di Carlo, back from Florida to rally his forces, found that city hall could no longer be reached. One of Mayor Henderson's campaign managers was approached with an offer of \$50,000 cash and more to follow if the mayor would order Allen to lay off. The luckless underworld diplomat who made the offer bounced when he hit a concrete walk onto which he was thrown.

Next the Ohio Bell Telephone Company and Western Union disconnected the intricate system of wires—all of which Allen's detectives had carefully traced — on which the racing information came to the Youngstown bookies. That abruptly cut off Di Carlo's principal source of income. When the smoke cleared, the underworld of Youngstown had been wiped out.

But neither the mayor nor the chief was through. There was still the Jungle Inn, to which the principal city gangsters had withdrawn and which supplied them with an ample income. It was in Trumbull County, outside Allen's jurisdiction, and the county authorities refused to help. Undaunted, Mayor Henderson and Chief Allen approached Governor Frank J. Lausche. The governor was eager to help but there were difficulties in the way. The county authorities were his principal law enforcement officers-Ohio, like many states, has no state police—and only they could raid the Jungle Inn for gambling.

But the governor found that the State Liquor Board could take action in a case of gambling on premises licensed for the sale of alcoholic beverages. So one evening some twenty state liquor agents closed in on Hall's Corners with orders to padlock the inn if they found sufficient evidence. They had some The hoodlums on bad moments. guard let them in but, as soon as they began to show their credentials, locked the doors and stood by the turrets. "If anybody had gotten excited and squeezed a trigger," a police officer who had been there told me. "goodness knows

would have happened." Nobody did, the gangsters finally surrendered and the Jungle Inn has been padlocked ever since. But it took a governor, a mayor, a police chief and legal flim-flam to do it.

At that, the victory was not complete. Di Carlo's Youngstown empire is in ruins and the gangsters still operating beyond the city line do a relatively small business. But Di Carlo has just completed a palatial new house in Miami Beach. Not long ago, Chief Allen discovered that another gang leader, Frank Cammarata, was planning to move into Youngstown. Cammarata has a record of twenty arrests and conviction for armed robbery for which he was sentenced to 15-30 years in the Michigan State Prison. He has demonstrated his political influence by the fact that Representative Michael Kirwan of Youngstown recently introduced in the House a private bill—H.R. 3890 —to prevent his deportation for illegal entry into the United States after a prior deportation. Following Chief Allen's outcry, Representative Kirwan withdrew his support of the

Cammarata bill and declared that he was unaware of the gangster's record. But Cammarata still lives, unmolested, near Youngstown's city line.

#### It Can Be Done

Last April Chief Allen told the story of some of his and Mayor Henderson's experiences to the Senate Subcommittee on Interstate Commerce, which was trying to work out legislation to prevent interstate gambling. The senators were shocked. "It is your experience that this bookie situation can be cleaned up locally without any assistance from the federal government?" asked Senator McFarland of Arizona. "At least 95 per cent of it can," snapped Allen.

As Senator Kefauver's investigation unrolls the appalling picture of organized crime in the United States—the number of our cities and towns in the corroding grip of combinations of racketeers and dishonest politicians—it becomes clear that we all had better do something about it. Youngstown is a good example of what can be done.

# Losing the 'Human' Touch

Rise of specialists and merit system in rural government brings a new kind of citizen participation in politics.

By YORK WILLBERN\*

IN AN Alabama hill country county, the author approached a little group of men lounging on the courthouse steps and asked the whereabouts of the office of the tax assessor. One of the men got up leisurely, said he was the tax assessor and asked what he could do for me. After we had gone into his office and talked a while, I inquired where I might find the county superintendent of education. He called out to the men still loafing on the steps, "Bill, this fellow wants to see you, too."

More of our government has this atmosphere than we realize. Rural officeholders still lounge on the courthouse steps and attend to business in a very informal manner.

It seems to be the belief of those who proclaim the virtues of local self-government that there is a healthier and more understanding awareness of and interest in the affairs of local government than in those of state or national government and that this results from the election of local officials. It is argued that there is more participation and participation of a higher quality in local government than in the government of higher levels. Frequently, the concept in the minds of those who make this argument is related

especially to rural or small town local government.

In the government of small towns and rural communities a larger percentage of the populace can be elected to office, although the percentage is still very small. The elected officeholders may be known personally by a larger part of the population. Actual relationship between officeholder and constituency, however, is at some variance with the idealized concept of a community leadership held closely responsible for sound public policy.

It would probably not be correct to say that the elected public officials in local government, in Alabama at any rate, come primarily from the really dominant economic and social groups. Local office-holders, generally speaking, are perhaps from above the middle social and economic level of the community but it is apparently the exception rather than the rule when the most important merchants, bankers, lawyers or landowners are themselves elected to public office.

At political meetings and in contacts made by candidates prior to elections, the absence of any consideration of significant public issues is striking. Many people have commented upon the tendency of the American electorate to vote with regard to personality rather than issues; it seems this tendency is more clearly evident in southern local

<sup>\*</sup>Dr. Willbern is director of the University of Alabama's Bureau of Public Administration and professor of public administration at the university.

rural government than anywhere else. There is no party organization; there is seldom a campaign of the outs against the ins in any group sense; government is so disintegrated that no individual officeholder or candidate can take or be given much responsibility for any particular action. The importance of personality and personal habits in determining the outcome of elections is great. Friendliness and sobriety are virtues of great value.

What some of us have called the eleemosynary appeal for votes is frequently effective. Widows are elected because they need the jobs, cripples are chosen because they are unable to do other work. Such choices are not the rule, of course, but they occur frequently enough to indicate some of the feeling about officeholding.

#### No Integrated Campaign

In one-party states campaigning for office is almost completely disintegrated. There is talk about courthouse rings and frequently a blanket condemnation of the "old crowd" in office, and there is sometimes a feeling of political liaison among certain officeholders. There seems, however, to be more talk and appearance here than reality. There is no announcement of any ticket or list of local officials by any group or, if there is, it is usually considered a severe handicap. To find and publish a list of approved candidates circulated in a labor union or a farm organization is considered quite a coup for persons who are not on the list, the feeling being that the existence of such a list is prima facie evidence of a machine or ring which the voters will disapprove. "The word" may be passed around, or those in the know may understand the factional relationships, but any announcement of group cohesion seems to produce resentment.

In the generally disintegrated character of local rural government the tax assessor, tax collector, sheriff, clerk, probate judge, road commissioners go their separate ways.

Even after the election, certain characteristics may be noted which convey the flavor of participation in government in rural courthouses and small town city halls.

First, there is a feeling that this is not government at all. The government is in Washington or, at the very least, in Montgomery. Again and again the statements are made that "the hospital was built with government money," or "we have to be careful about this, because the government sends inspectors around"—all by local officials.

Second, there is a strong feeling of proprietorship on the part of the occupants of many local offices. We have been told by those who speculate about government that one of the great dangers of bureaucracy is that the occupants of civil service positions begin to feel that their job is their own private property. If that be true in the ramifying circles of the civil service in a big government, a return to a locally choser officialdom would seem to be no remedy. In our observation the feeling seems stronger with regard to elected officials than with regard to the employees of those agencies, like welfare, education or the county agricultural group, where there is some reality to the charges of big bureaucracy.

True, the incumbent of a local elected position holds it at the will of the voter, but he considers himself a business man, with the voters and constituents as his customers—he must please them or go out of business, but it is his business which he is conducting.

The motivation for this feeling is especially strong where the fee system exists, as it does in the more rural counties of many southern states. The probate judge talks of selling licenses, says that "business is getting so bad we may have to lay off a clerk," complains of a legislative action which cut his fee income \$25 a month. In effect, election to local office in a fee system community constitutes the granting of a license to practice government there.

In county courthouses, where officials have time to sit on the steps and speak to passers-by, there is obviously more informality and consequently more likelihood of laxity than in larger, more impersonal operations. Many a law breaker is not arrested, many a case is not prosecuted, if the sheriff and the prosecutor know the individuals involved.

In many criminal offenses there is no trial or formality—the judge or justice of the peace hears most of his cases "in chambers," or the arresting sheriff or police official

may fix the fine and collect it on the spot. There is often much that is attractive and humane in these easy-going methods, even though it may not be completely in character with the statue of Justice on the courthouse dome. It must be remembered that it is not fully realized that this is government—government is the place from which the auditors and inspectors come.

#### New Functions Intrude

Most of the observations thus far have been with regard to the political and governmental behavior of rural local government as it has been traditionally conducted. There is, however, something new, something alien to that spirit which has been forcing its way in in recent years. This is the intrusion—and "intrude" is probably the only applicable word—of some newer functions of government to be performed even in the rural local communities.

The new and important functions are primarily welfare, health and aid to agriculture. As functions of county government they have their roots in the past but they have burgeoned and blossomed within the last generation or half-generation. The welfare, health and agricultural agencies do not fit into the traditional pattern. Frequently, perhaps usually, there was no space for them in the courthouse, so they have been put off in a county office building or a county activities building, or they have separate offices in various buildings in the county seat town. There the atmosphere is different from the atmosphere of the courthouse. There is the calculating machine, the indexed card and the steel file, instead of the hand-written ledger and the vault. There the chief employees have been to school, even to college, go to professional meetings and have a degree of mobility. They are under much greater supervision from the "government" in Montgomery or from agricultural colleges.

The heads of these agencies are not elected locally; some of them may be appointed by local boards or by the county governing body. But many, sometimes all of them, must be members of a merit system, they are chosen frequently on the recommendation of the state department or agency conducting that function, and they move from county to county as new job opportunities develop.

With regard to professionalization and use of expertise, functions of rural government in Alabama may be ranked in this order: welfare, agricultural aid, health; education ranks high where the superintendent is appointed, low where he is elected; road construction is a poor fifth and law enforcement and tax administration bring up the rear. In other words, the development of expertness, of professionalization, of any significant degree of efficiency has generally come to local rural government in Alabama only in the newer functions, in the functions where "the government" from outside has led the way and insisted upon the path. Even more important, at the rural local level it seems that removal from local, election-type politics is generally the prerequisite for any significant amount of professionalization and expertness.

#### How Get Citizen Participation

If this be true, does it mean that we can get efficient, expert, professional governmental service only at the expense of abandoning direct participation in local government by the citizens?

There are several answers to this question which indicate that we need not abandon local citizen participation to get expert and efficient services, but that we need, and may be already securing, something of a transformation in the type of participation involved.

There can be just as real and perhaps even more vital a degree of local participation in governmental programs where the initiative and the ultimate control of the program is from the federal or state level. With the channels of communication that we have, voter interest and education in national and state elections is probably greater than in local ones. The Associated Press dispatches and syndicated columnists in the daily paper and over the radio tell a story that is as close and vital to the voter as that of the local weekly newspaper and the tale heard at the corner store.

There are figures which indicate that, even in local areas, the voting turnout is greater for state and national elections than when only local matters are involved. There are strong indications that the issues at state and national levels are closer to the hearts of the voters

and better understood by them than some of those in their immediate bailiwick.

There is another answer to the problem of retaining—or securing a better quality of—citizen participation in local governmental matters and getting at the same time a degree of professionalization and expertness. There are many types and kinds of participation in public affairs which are probably more important than voter participation. Administration is a political process and local administration, even of state and national programs, is a part of that political process in which the local citizens participate. Not only may orders come down through the administrative hierarchy but the pulse of the people may go back up that hierarchy far enough to register accurately.

In the rural and small town communities, furthermore, (and there is no intention to suggest that these communities are peculiar in this regard) it must be noted that a great deal of government is conducted by and through agencies that are not completely public in character.

The local community chest, if there is one, or the Women's Society for Christian Service, influences the local welfare department and its activities and does things of a public character better than the welfare department can. The home demonstration clubs and the farm bureau units are not only promoted and used by the county agricultural people, they are also organisms which affect the course of government in the local community. The story of the degree to which the

chamber of commerce is an agency of government in a small town has never been effectively told. The chamber committees—on which, in contrast to official agencies of government, are generally represented the actual social and economic leaders of the community—may make more important decisions than any governmental employee.

#### Local Groups Have Public Duties

In the towns, civic clubs as well as the chamber of commerce are public agencies of almost incalculable importance. They discuss public questions, they stimulate public action. they influence the municipality and the county and, unhampered by certain legal restrictions, they do much that official governmental agencies have difficulty in doing. Most local recreation programs in Alabama have been begun by civic clubs and often only reluctantly taken over by the government. Many of the local public libraries are even vet civic club affairs.

There is considerable difference, of course, in the degree to which programs with state and federal assistance and supervision involve local citizen participation of a more or less formal character. The agriculture program has farm committees and gives its constituents an opportunity to vote on some issues; welfare, health and education use citizen boards; all four are closely associated with such groups as the and the Parent-Bureau Farm Teachers Association. There will be no attempt to describe here the almost infinite variety of federal-state, federal-local, state-local and government-community group relationships involved. The Tennessee Valley Authority, for example, has made a fetish of local participation; its grass-roots program is justly famous.

There is no intention to assert that the higher the degree of local participation in a state or federal program the better administered or even the more democratic the program will be. Much depends on the type of devolution and the type of local participation. To leave a program of national or state policy to be run at the discretion of certain local agencies or groups may well mean that the national or state policy may be compromised.

Without attempting to explore the controversy, it may be said that the long established TVA program of dealing with the farmers through the local extension services and using test demonstration farm patterns has probably meant that the benefits of its farm program have not penetrated at all well to large sectors of the farm population. The TVA found a going local program and associated itself with that program. It is, therefore, by its policy of devolution to the existing local agencies, inevitably shaped into the pattern produced by the dominant local agencies and individuals.

In conclusion, then, it may be suggested that participation by local citizens in their government is not being lost as the pattern of local government is slowly changed. There is still local citizen participation in

federal and state programs, and the opportunity for activity and leadership in public affairs in an effective manner may even become greater as the importance of elected rural local officials diminishes.

#### Seeing the Whole Picture

What is missing as the pattern of government changes is not participation by the local individuals in their own government. It may well be that the pattern of participation is too diverse, too scattered or too disintegrated. Participating in this chamber of commerce activity or that civic club campaign or this farm bureau or parentteachers meeting, or serving on an advisory committee, may well constitute a more active and effective form of self-government than is involved in electing the tax assessor once every four years.

What may be lacking in the pattern of local rural self-government is any real opportunity for the citizens to see their public problems as a whole, in their entirety. On the national level the essential elements of the whole governmental program are subject to review by the presidency and by Congress. In councilmanager cities there is similarly a single focal point where all of the problems and their inter-relationships to some degree converge. Generally speaking, there is no such central point in rural government in Alabama or in other states where local self-government can be focused. But that is another problem.

# Kansas City Leaps a River

State Supreme Court upholds its right to annex territory from neighboring Clay County over protests of new citizens.

#### By WILLIAM O. WINTER\*

N THE first of January 1950 Kansas City moved men and materiél across the icy waters of the Missouri River into twenty square miles of area in Clay County, Missouri. It was like an army invading hostile territory, for the people of the Clay County area had not given their consent to joining the city. Legally they had had no voice in the matter. The voters of Kansas City decided by charter amendment in 1946 to annex the area and, under Missouri law, that decision controlled. Only intervention of the courts could stop the annexation and the courts had been friendly to Kansas City.

This invasion was both an end and a beginning. It was the end—or virtually the end—of a long legal and political battle to establish the right of Kansas City to expand, and it was the beginning of one of the most imaginative efforts to direct urban growth that has been seen in this country in decades.

The struggle between Kansas City and its fringe was actually never seriously in doubt. Annexation law and procedure in Missouri was well established, especially in the case law, and the citizens of the fringe spent fruitless months and labor to achieve the dubious satisfaction of having an already definite set of legal rules spelled out even more definitely. On January 1, 1950, Kansas City annexed the area in fact; in May 1950 the Missouri Supreme Court gave the city complete legal possession.

It all began with an idea that originated atop Kansas City's skyscraper city hall, in the office of the city manager. Kansas City had not grown in the way of the normal city. To the west lay the Missouri-Kansas border; to the north, the Missouri River. As a result the city had developed in a quarter of a circle. Its business and administrative heart lay near the junction of the state line and the Missouri River. and from this center its boundaries had extended nine miles to the south and five miles to the east. Thus, because of sheer distance, expansion to the south was becoming ever more difficult. Expansion to the east was just as inadvisable but for another reason-the area was literally a suburban slum.

Yet the city had to expand. In the words of the city manager, it was "bursting at the seams." After much effort and expense, for example, a great new area for industrial development was being opened up within the city. This district, lying in the flood plain of the Missouri and known as the Northeast Bottoms, was recognized as

<sup>\*</sup>Until his recent resignation, Dr. Winter was a research associate with the Bureau of Government at the University of Michigan. He is now assistant professor of government at Southern Illinois University.

being potentially the industrial heart of Kansas City. It had not developed greatly in the past because of the danger of floods, but a new levee system had been built to protect it from all but the most catastrophic of floods. City officials knew that as soon as industry began moving into the Bottoms, where to house the working force would become a serious problem. The solution lay to the north of the river in undeveloped Clay County.

The river had always barred urban development of an extensive sort in Clay County. A few square miles of land in the valley on the north side of the river, occupied mostly by industry, was incorporated some years ago into the city of North Kansas City. Along the bluffs of the river and beyond were the scattered dwellings of a small number of suburbanites. From this area it was literally possible for an energetic office worker to walk to work in the Kansas City business district. A less energetic person could drive in ten or fifteen minutes.

The plan was nurtured quietly, almost in secrecy. Then on August 19, 1946, the first gun was fired. An ordinance was introduced in the city council to put on the ballot at the next general election a charter amendment to redefine the city boundaries to include a substantial portion of the Clay County territory. This was met with a barrage from north of the river. On August 20 the board of aldermen of North Kansas City passed an ordinance annexing part of the territory desired by Kansas City and on

September 10, 1946, the voters of North Kansas City ratified the annexation ordinance at a special election.

The Kansas City charter amendment was ratified at the November 1946 election. Its effective date, however, was set at January 1, 1950.

Immediately Kansas City instituted quo warranto proceedings through the attorney general of the state to question the right of North Kansas City to the Clay County area. Kansas City claimed prior rights since it had begun annexation proceedings first.

The trial court upheld Kansas City's claim and the case was appealed to the Missouri Supreme Court. In 1949 the Supreme Court appointed a commissioner who, upon hearing arguments by both sides, ruled in favor of Kansas City. Thereupon the court permitted Kansas City to begin servicing the area upon the effective date of the charter amendment and rejected North Kansas City's petition also to offer municipal services.

#### **Procedures Challenged**

The case was finally argued in January 1950 with Kansas City on one side and North Kansas City and the residents of the annexed area on the other. The principal arguments advanced against annexation by the latter were: (1) that Kansas City had no power to annex territory and (2) that the annexation was unreasonable.

The attorneys argued that Kansas City was without statutory or constitutional power to annex by charter amendment. They claimed that the power of a city cannot legally be made to extend beyond its geographical borders. A municipal charter can have reference only to the city itself, they argued; it cannot by charter amendment be made to extend to surrounding areas.

In Missouri it is possible to attack a city's annexation on the grounds of unreasonableness. North Kansas City and the citizens of the Clay County region claimed that the annexation was not only unreasonable but unfair. North Kansas City had prior rights in the area, they said. This annexation was nothing more than a land-grabbing attempt. The area was not needed by the city at all.

#### Court Bolsters Home Rule

The Supreme Court of Missouri handed down a final decision on the case in May of this year. Unanimously it upheld Kansas City's claim. In a strongly worded decision the court rejected the arguments of North Kansas City, even commented adversely upon the intemperate language of the counsel from north of the river.

The passage of the ordinance to put the annexation amendment on the ballot and the approval of the amendment by the Kansas City electorate made a prima facie case for reasonableness, said the court. Such action could not be lightly dismissed; on the contrary, it had to be given great weight. Even though North Kansas City would be encircled, moreover, and would thus become an enclave within the larger city, the annexation could not be called unreasonable. The court felt

that since North Kansas City was but a satellite to the main city its needs must be subordinated.

The mere fact that a large and somewhat unruly river would separate the two parts of the city, the court went on, was no criterion of unreasonableness. Nor would the city's being in two counties create an insuperable obstacle. The river could be more adequately bridged and with legislative assistance the two-county problem could be solved. The court found also that the Clay County area was contiguous with the city, was badly needed by the city for its future growth and development and was suitable urban utilization.

While in 1949 only about 20 per cent of the area was devoted to urban purposes, the other 80 per cent, even though it was still being farmed, was assuming an urban character. Already there were 80 platted subdivisions and land values ranged from \$400 to \$1,100 an acre, clear evidence that on the market the land was considered urban. Clay County Water District No. 1 distributed water bought from Kansas City to about 2,400 customers.

In examining the claim of illegality the court added another room to the home rule edifice. It is true, said the court, that there is no specific constitutional or legislative authorization for a home rule city to annex by charter amendment. But none is needed. Local self-determination is legitimate even for matters of annexation.

"The citizenship of the state,"

reads the decision, "plainly intended to give [home-rule] cities the right to determine for themselves the kind of charter under which they should live. But no intention appears to stifle growth and expansion....The power to ... annex and the right to grow in area by such annexation are necessarily and fairly implied in and are incident to the power of charter adoption and amendment expressly granted by the constitution. ... Specific legislative authority to extend [Kansas City's] limits is unnecessary."

Under this decision not only Kansas City but also other home rule cities in Missouri may expand their boundaries, secure in the knowledge that unless the expansion is completely unreasonable the courts will not overrule the action. Only in Texas is such doctrine so firmly established in the case law. It is encouraging that the courts of two important home rule states have added substantially to the scope of local discretionary power.

#### Kansas City Points Way

In annexing the Clay County area Kansas City has looked far ahead. Few cities in recent years have made such imaginative plans for the future. Indeed, by this annexation Kansas City has assured itself of a future.

To deny a city the right to expand in area is often to deny individuals the choice of whether to live in the city or in the fringe—the incorporated or unincorporated

suburbs. If both vacant lands and desirable lots within the city limits have become virtually non-existent, the individual has no choice; he becomes a suburbanite whether he wants to or not. That is what was about to happen to Kansas City. If the legislative and case law on annexation had been the same in Missouri as it is in many states, the city would have found it difficult, if not impossible, to annex any area at all. Literally thousands of people who would like to live within the city would find such a thing impossible.

The probabilities are that most of the urban growth within the Kansas City metropolitan district will take place during the next few years in the twenty square miles just annexed. That area would have soon grown into an urban community-or a series of urban communities—even if Kansas City had not annexed it. But now the extension of city services and controls will add immensely to its attractiveness. More than that, the city will be able to control its growth. The entire district is attractive, only a minute portion is devoted to substandard dwellings. Much of it is hilly and wooded and offers countless building sites for all types of dwellings. Close to the heart of the city, it is ideal for urban development.

The Clay County area will benefit from the annexation as much as will Kansas City. The section can be utilized to its fullest advantage only by the imposition of municipal controls and now those controls

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>State ex inf. Taylor ex rel. Kansas City v. North Kansas City, 228 S. W. (2nd) 762 (1950).

are in effect. Realization of this fact contributed in no small part to the decision by the city to annex. In 1946 City Manager Cookingham predicted that if the development of the area were not directed by the proper administrative techniques, "not only the broad spaces and present environment of today will disappear but blight and decay will appear."

Annexation is but another word for integration—political and administrative integration of tributary areas with the city. Primarily, the difficulties with annexation are legal, not political or financial. Too much has been made of both the political and financial obstacles. Opposition of the fringe to integration with the city cannot be given much weight. In the Kansas City annexation, the citizens of Clay County were not asked whether they wished to join the city. But is this an injustice?

Should a small neighborhood outside the city limits—or a large one—be given the right to outvote the entire city? A city is not merely an accidental union of neighborhoods; it is an organism, interdependent in all its parts. Annexation should be evaluated with this fact in mind.

The cities of America are fragmentized: their boundaries highly artificial. There is enough daily ebb and flow of people over those boundaries to eradicate them. quickly and for all time, were they not traced indelibly in statutes. ordinances or charters. Annexation is a practical means of making the political city conform more nearly with the natural city. Kansas City has excellently pointed the way. So Dallas. Fort Worth and Houston. So have the cities of Virginia. They well show that if cities are allowed to solve their area difficulties at home or, as in the case of Virginia, if a reasonable annexation code is evolved, one of the great urban problems of today can be met decisively.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>L. P. Cookingham, "Building for Tomorrow," Bulletin of the Community Councils of Kansas City, Missouri, September-October, 1946, page 2.

# They All Get into the Show

Drastic change in setup of Oklahoma legislative council makes every legislator a member instead of chosen few.

By DON L. BOWEN\*

BY AN act of the 1949 legislature the Oklahoma Legislative Council made up of a small group of legislative members was replaced by a new council in which every legislator was made a member. This change, one of the few basic modifications in the legislative council idea since establishment of the first successful council in Kansas in 1933,1 not only has resulted in significant changes in the organization and function of Oklahoma's legislative council but may well point to a new direction of the legislative council movement as a whole. Added weight is given this possibility by similar action of the 1949 Nebraska legislature.

Until the Oklahoma innovation, legislative councils, now existing in over half the states, had always been composed of a limited number of members from each house of the legislature with an attached research staff. Working under various names<sup>2</sup>

this newest and most comprehensive legislative service agency is essentially a permanent joint interim committee having as its principal responsibility the development of factual information on matters of legislative concern. Usually associated with this function have also been policy decisions and legislative program planning. The first Oklahoma council, which began operations in 1947,<sup>3</sup> followed this pattern of the typical council in both organization and function,

The success of the council idea, especially in the case of the older agencies, is uncontested. Legislative councils have supplied both the vitality and the instrument for returning the legislature to the responsible and informed agent contemplated in a government based upon the principle of separation of powers.

Ironically, however, this very effectiveness in preparing a planned and informed legislative program has sometimes been the source of opposition to the council. This was true in Oklahoma where the efficacy of the legislative council was generally acknowledged but the council itself was not popular with members of the legislature.

There were several reasons for this. Established as a select group with its activity publicized in the news-

<sup>1</sup>A legislative council was set up in Michigan in 1932 but was abolished in 1939, the only instance in which a legislative council, once established, has been abolished.

<sup>2</sup>For example, Legislative Counsel Bureau in Nevada, Joint State Government Commission in Pennsylvania, Legislative Research Commission in Kentucky, Legislative Research Committee in Maine and Minnesota, Legislative Advisory Commission in Indiana.

<sup>\*</sup>Mr. Bowen is assistant professor of government at the University of Oklahoma. During the past year he was on leave of absence, serving as research director, then acting director, for the Oklahoma State Legislative Council.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>An act setting up the council was passed in 1939, but the council did not receive an appropriation until 1947.

papers, it was almost inevitable that certain friction would occasionally develop between those members of the legislature who were not on the council and those who were. Closely associated with this difficulty was the belief that the council was absorbing functions which properly belong to the legislature. This feeling was at least partially generated by the presession build-up which the council program received through the newspapers and other news media. Some legislators felt they were placed in a position of being compelled to accept or at least give serious consideration to a program which they had no direct hand in developing.

These difficulties and the subsequent change were explained by one release given large circulation in smaller papers throughout the state.

"The new legislative council which will start functioning with its first meeting next month will have a high mark to shoot at. There are few who question that its predecessor scored a conspicuous success, although a number of hot barrages were leveled at it in the recent legislative session. . . .

"All but a small portion of the farreaching program was enacted into law.... This achievement is regarded as remarkable, in view of the early failures of similar legislative groups in other states. They have had to wear down a great deal of prejudice and jealousy before winning acceptances."

The *Tulsa Tribune* of July 20, 1949, with statewide circulation, put the change like this on its editorial page:

"At the time a gentleman from

West Oklahoma introduced the resolution in the last legislative session proposing that all members of both houses be made members of the Oklahoma Legislative Council, we condemned the idea. But it went through with a whoop and a holler. The first council of restricted membership had earned a good press and the other solons were jealous. There is no one harder to deal with than a jealous legislator."

These "personality" and "little or super legislature" obstacles which the Oklahoma council faced are typical of those which many new councils have had to overcome and which still badger the operations of some of the older councils by lending a certain amount of inescapable restraint or fear to council operations. These feelings, consciously or unconsciously, have perhaps also worked against a more rapid expansion of the council movement.<sup>4</sup>

#### New Plan Outlined

In an effort to overcome the difficulties which faced Oklahoma's initial legislative council, backers of the idea supported the unprecedented action of the 1949 legislature. Since there are 115 members of the House of Representatives and 44 members of the Senate, the Oklahoma Legislative Council is now composed of 159 members.

The council is headed by a chairman and vice chairman filled alter-

<sup>&#</sup>x27;See for instance W. Brooke Graves, American State Government, third edition. D. C. Heath, Boston, 1946, page 346; and Frederic H. Guild, "Legislative Councils: Objectives and Accomplishments," State Government, September 1949, page 219.

nately each biennium by the president pro tempore of the Senate and the speaker of the House of Representatives. These officers also serve in the same manner as chairman and vice chairman for a 25-man executive committee composed of ten senators appointed by the president pro tempore of the Senate and fifteen representatives appointed by the speaker of the House. This committee is charged with carrying on the administrative affairs of the council between full council meetings.5 Its principal duties are to coordinate the activities of the study committees and to hire the council's staff. The executive committee functions as an administrative committee only and in no sense is a select legislative council as it might first appear to be.

Study and investigative work of the council is carried on through a series of twelve standing committees each member of the council entitled by law to membership on two. In addition special committees can be appointed for interim work to deal with temporary or highly particularized problems.<sup>6</sup>

This council committee system is

<sup>5</sup>Both the full council and the executive committee meet at the call of the chairman, rules of the council providing, however, that the full council meet at least once prior to each legislative session. Since the 1949 reorganization, the executive committee has met once and the full council twice.

Three such committees have thus far been appointed: workmen's compensation, effect of unitized oil operations and farming operations at state mental institutions. Special committee members are appointed by the chairman of the council and can serve on such groups in addition to holding membership on two standing committees.

distinct and separate from the House and Senate committee system of the legislature. There is, however, a strong tendency for members of the council to select committees similar to those on which they serve during the legislative session where such exist. For example, members of the House and Senate education committees have generally selected the council education committee.

Since regular legislative committees are appointed (by the speaker in the House and the rules committee in the Senate), legislators do not always draw the same assignments they would if they had free choice in the matter. Because of this, the self-selection committee assignment plan of the council has resulted in some shifts, certain committees being naturally more popular than others. The council's roads and highways committee and revenue and taxation committee are relatively large, for instance, with other committees being correspondingly smaller. This self-selection principle has not offered serious difficulty. All committees are large enough to be representative and no committee is unwieldv.7

Each committee in its study and investigation functions as a separate entity in dealing with those problems which fall within its range and at the completion of its meetings and study

<sup>&#</sup>x27;Standing committee membership is: agriculture 34, appropriations and budget 29, conservation 15, education 26, judiciary 16, legislative methods, practices and procedures 9, labor, commerce and industries 21, public health and welfare 12, revenue and taxation 63, roads and highways 61, state and local government 9, veterans and military affairs 9.

will submit its report to the full council for approval.

The council staff works with each standing and special committee in arranging meetings and providing clerical, research and other informational needs.

#### Nebraska Action

In Nebraska an act of the 1949 session also brought all members of the legislature into the legislative council. Internal organization of the Nebraska council differs from the Oklahoma plan, however. The chairman and vice chairman are elected by the council membership.

An executive board consisting of the council chairman, speaker of the legislature and chairman of the committee on committees of the legislature is responsible for matters of general policy of the council. The executive board designates and appoints council committees and assigns subjects for committee study. At the present time each member of the council is on at least one committee. There has not been a full meeting of the Nebraska council thus far.

Nebraska's change may have a somewhat different meaning from Oklahoma's because of its unicameral legislature with a membership of 43 as contrasted to Oklahoma's bicameral system with a membership of 159. Nevertheless, it attracts interest, paralleling as it does, both in timing and substance, Oklahoma's modification of the legislative council idea.

#### Advantages and Disadvantages

In operation, Oklahoma's revamped legislative council principle offers several advantages over the traditional plan. One of the most apparent is the automatic and effective dispelling of any feelings which might develop between those who are on the council and those who are not. In the same fashion the complaint of "super legislature" is also eliminated. Every member of the legislature is a member of the council and, through committee assignments. participates in the study and formation of the council program. This feeling of participation removes one of the basic impediments the usual council faces in preparing and seeking favorable legislative consideration of its program.

Participation of every legislator in council activities has advantages from an educational viewpoint. No longer is interim study of legislative problems confined to a handful of members of the state's lawmaking body. Now it is a continuing endeavor of the entire membership and each legislator profits immediately and directly from interim study activities. This activity, of course, except for full council meetings, is confined largely to the areas of committee assignment. Reports and minutes of committees are distributed to all council members, however, and to the extent that these are utilized by council membership the study area of individual members is broadened.

Closely related to this feature of Oklahoma's new council are two others which may provide partial answers to other basic state legislative problems. In time continuous interim study of legislative problems by all members of the legislature through the council organization

may, as a practical matter, well approximate a continuous session of the legislature as far as committee activity is concerned, with the formal legislative session being confined largely to consideration of committee reports.

This expedition of legislative business may in turn be facilitated by the fact that committees of the council, being composed of members from both houses, are in a manner of speaking "joint" committees. This should provide an important aid for cooperation between the two houses when the legislature is in session.

Consideration of the advantages of Oklahoma's modification of the legislative council idea, however, should not convey the impression that implementation of the plan will be without problems. As a practical matter there are several difficulties which must be guarded against. The most important of these is that of administering and coordinating such a large interim group. This problem is a joint burden of the executive committee, the director of the council's staff and committee chairmen. Also important is the maintenance of interest on the part of individual legislators. Without this most essential ingredient the operation of the council would be impossible. Working with such a large group may also intensify council staff needs. This factor, together with participation by all members of the legislature, may also have some effect upon the budget requirements of the new council.8 Thus far, however, these possible difficulties, discussed with concern by many supporters of the council idea at the time the new plan was adopted, have not assumed serious proportions.

#### Operation of Plan

Whether the new Oklahoma council will live up to its blueprint expectations is yet to be determined. The recent special session of the legislature, convened for the important job of vitalizing and appropriating a \$36,000,000 state institution building bond issue, has given a partial answer to this question, however. Through the council a great deal of preparatory work relating to the complicated problems of the bond issue was accomplished and the legislature, in cooperation with the governor, was able to complete in one month a workmanlike job which presession speculators had estimated would take up to three or four months.

Currently the committees of the council are meeting and research work is being conducted in preparation of submission of proposals to the full council some time this fall. These proposals of committees when acted upon by the full council will constitute the council's recommendations to the legislature.

Complete determination of the success of the new Oklahoma plan must wait until at least the next session of the legislature. But if subsequent operations prove as successful as initial tests, Oklahoma may have made a significant contribution to American state government.

legislators of \$100 per month, except mileage allowance of 6 cents a mile to and from meetings.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>Council members receive no compensation, other than their regular pay as

### News in Review

City, State and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

### Strong Mayor Charter Drafted for Philadelphia

Provides Managing Director Over Certain Departments

A SPECIAL drafting committee of the Philadelphia Charter Commission submitted a proposed strong mayor type of charter to the commission on September 6. Public hearings are expected to begin soon, and Frederic D. Garman, city council president and chairman of the charter commission, has also asked "every citizen who can do so to submit comments and suggestions by letter." The draft will be considered again by the commission after the hearings. and the final product will be submitted to popular vote, presumably in the spring of 1951.

Surveys have been made and public hearings have been held during the year to aid in preparing the draft. Outstanding features of the proposal include:

A mayor would be elected as chief executive; he would be limited to two successive terms of four years each.

The mayor would appoint, with approval of the council, a managing director who would exercise supervision over most city departments and appoint their operating heads, with the mayor's approval; these departments to be police, fire, health, streets, recreation, assistance and institutions, utilities, licenses, records, and city development. The functions of these departments are thoroughly rearranged, compared to the present setup. The managing director must have had at

least five years' experience as a management or business executive.

The mayor would appoint the city solicitor with council approval. He would also appoint a director of finance, a personnel director and a city representative, a human relations commission (succeeding the present fair employment practices commission), a civil service commission (appointed from nominations of a civil service nominating panel made up of heads of various educational, civic, commercial and labor groups or institutions) and a board of pensions and retirement. The personnel director would be responsible for examinations, classifications and administration of the civil service system, the commission to have limited supervisory jurisdiction.

All employees would be under civil service except the mayor's appointees, department heads and deputies, and a few other exempt positions.

The city planning commission, zoning board of adjustment, board of building standards and appeals and art commission would be attached to the department of city development.

The director of finance, the city's chief financial, budget and accounting officer, would be appointed by the mayor from three names furnished by a panel made up of the president of the Clearing House Association, the chairman of the certified public accountants and the dean of the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania.

With the mayor's approval the director of finance would appoint the head of the department of collections (superseding the receiver of taxes now elected) and the head of the department of property and procurement.

The city representative is to have ceremonial, publicity and promotional duties.

The city controller and the city treasurer would be elected by the people.

The city council would consist of seventeen members, ten to be elected from districts and seven at large. Three of the latter would be minority representatives, as no party could nominate more than four and the voters may cast their ballots for only four. Council must redistrict after each decennial census, each district to consist of contiguous wards and to contain a tenth of the population, as closely as practicable. The present council has 22 members elected from eight districts, with as many as five to a district.

#### Council-Manager Plan Developments

City managers in Massachusetts have formed the Massachusetts City Managers' Association, headed by John B. Atkinson, manager at Cambridge. There are now twelve managers in cities and towns of that state and four other cities have approved the plan, to take effect in 1952.

The council-manager plan was adopted by a vote of 2,060 to 637 in **Pocatello, Idaho,** (1940 population 18,-133) at a special election on September 19. The new government will go into effect on January 1, 1951.

Fairview, Oklahoma, (1,918) voted 349 to 82 on September 19 to change from its present weak mayor plan to the statutory council-manager plan, to take effect May 7, 1951.

A proposed town manager charter

is expected to be voted on in Amherst, Massachusetts, in February 1951.

The city commission of Bayonne, New Jersey, has authorized a referendum at the May 1951 election on establishment of a charter commission. This action is interpreted as an effort to block the city manager campaign of the United Workers Organization, which desires a vote on the question in November of this year.

The Pennsylvania State Chamber of Commerce has been campaigning for legislation to permit Pennsylvania's 47 third-class cities to decide for themselves whether to adopt the council-manager plan. Such a bill was passed by the House of Representatives at the last session but was killed in the Senate.

The Pennsylvania Federation of Labor at its convention in May adopted a resolution in favor of the council-manager plan for third-class cities and of the sponsorship by the federation of a council-manager bill for such cities. It asked the cooperation of all labor organizations in the state to further this effort. The foreword to the resolution sets forth the features and advantages of the council-manager plan and states, "We believe that the city manager plan is superior to the mayor-council and commission systems."

The Schuylkill Haven, Pennsylvania, Taxpayers Association has unanimously voted for the borough manager plan and is urging its adoption on the borough council.

The city of Imperial, Nebraska, is considering placing the question of the manager plan on the ballot this year, according to Mayor Fay Smith.

Columbus, Nebraska, will vote on the council-manager plan October 31. Petitions have been filed with the city council by a citizens' committee.

Hoisington, Kansas, which has had

a commission-manager plan since 1924, voted in March to adopt a mayor-council-manager plan, as permitted under Kansas laws. This is similar to the plan adopted by Great Bend in April. Hoisington is now divided into four wards, with eight councilmen and a mayor. The present manager has held his position since 1927.

Voters of Chanute, Kansas, will decide on whether that city shall change from the commission plan to the council-manager plan at a special election on October 10.

An educational campaign to bring a vote this year on the manager plan is under way in Miles City, Montana.

Britton, Oklahoma, which has had the manager plan since 1949, recently voted to be annexed to Oklahoma City—which also has the manager plan.

The city commission of San Antonio, Texas, has announced a special election for December 19 on a proposed municipal civil service charter amendment. If adopted this would preclude a vote on a council-manager amendment, planned for next year, inasmuch as Texas law specifies that charters of home rule cities may not be amended more often than once in two years. Council-manager proponents are organizing a campaign to defeat the civil service amendment, which has various defects besides being a means of forestalling an election on the manager plan. The League of Women Voters has announced its opposition to the amendment.

The city council of Perryton, Texas, is reported to favor a change from the mayor-aldermen plan to the council-manager plan.

Nampa, Idaho, is to vote on the manager plan on November 25.

A proposed city manager ordinance was defeated at a referendum in Al-

bany, California, by a vote of 1,922 to 2,703 on June 6.

A special election on the question of adopting the manager plan is expected to be held soon in Hanford, California.

Pasco, Washington, will vote on the manager plan on December 5. The two local newspapers and three radio stations are reported to be cooperative.

Petitions for a vote on the manager plan for Portland, Oregon, in November failed to obtain sufficient signatures before the deadline, August 19. Although favored by Mayor Dorothy McCullough Lee, the plan was not supported by the two daily newspapers.

A movement for adoption of the manager plan is reported in progress in Halifax, Nova Scotia.

A campaign for the manager plan is under way in **Durban**, South Africa, with the support of the burgesses and the Action Committee for Municipal Reform.

Attendance at state manager meetings earlier this year was 62 in Auburn, Maine, fifteen in Madison, Wisconsin, twelve in Skokie, Illinois, and twenty-five in Woodhull Lake, Michigan (for southeastern Michigan managers). A city manager institute was held in Orono, at the University of Maine, August 28-31.

#### Mississippi Committee Urges Municipal Changes

The Legislative Municipal Affairs Study Committee, a joint Senate and House recess committee created by the Mississippi legislature in 1948 to study municipal authorities, functions, taxation, finances, etc., has rendered a printed report, with recommendations, to the 1950 legislature.

The committee was established because of the increased demands for municipal services, the decline in municipal revenues and the existing confusion and duplication in municipal statutes. It was given an appropriation of only \$15,000 but had the cooperation and assistance of the Mississippi Municipal Association and municipal officers, of the Economic Council and of the Society of Certified Public Accountants of that state. It worked closely with the County Affairs Study Committee, likewise created in 1948. It collected financial and tax data from the municipalities and included such data in its report.

The committee stressed the need for recodification of municipal laws and presented a general recodification bill, together with 25 other proposed bills on special subjects.

Among recommendations are these: Requirement of municipal budget systems—even some of the larger cities being found without budgets;

A uniform municipal accounting system, to be prescribed by the state auditor, who shall also assemble municipal financial information for the legislature;

Audits for all municipalities of over 1,000 population;

Popular election only for mayor and aldermen, or other such municipal governing authorities, with four-year terms;

No further incorporation of villages which have less than 300 inhabitants;

Municipal expansion to be adjudicated in chancery court rather than in county circuit courts before juries;

Abolition of fee system of remuneration;

Better assessment practices;

Additional municipal revenue by transfer of five-sixths of amusement taxes and \$500,000 of insurance taxes, now state-collected, and giving municipalities local business privilege taxes and a beer tax.

Employee Classification Surveys in Three Cities

The Civil Service Assembly reports that work was begun late in July on a classification and salary plan for nearly 100,000 positions in the service of New York City. Exempt from the survey are firemen, policemen, teachers, transportation employees and mechanics or laborers whose pay is set by prevailing levels. Former Mayor O'Dwyer announced that no one presently in the classified service will have his salary reduced as a result of the survey and routine promotions and pay adjustments will not be affected.

A classification and planning survey of about 1,300 employees of Phoenix, Arizona, is expected to be completed early in 1951. The Portland, Oregon, city council has adopted a new salary plan based on a survey early in 1950; it provides salary ranges representative of prevailing levels on the Pacific coast.

Unemployment Insurance for City Employees

City employees of New Rochelle, New York, are now covered by unemployment insurance under a recent amendment to the New York State labor law which provides that governmental subdivisions, such as counties, cities, towns, villages, public authorities, fire districts and improvement districts, have the option of providing unemployment protection for their workers. Coverage extends only to regular fulltime employees laid off through no fault of their own. It does not extend to teachers because they are not in the classified service,

Unlike private employers and employees, no regular contributions to the state unemployment insurance fund are required from the governmental unit or from its employees. However, the city will make payments to the

state for the insurance when benefits are actually paid to former employees. Currently, unemployment payments in New York are \$26 weekly for thirteen weeks, according to the Municipal Finance Officers Association.

### California City Councilmen Take Short Course

Under a recently devised training program sponsored by the mayors' and councilmen's department of the League of California Cities, more than 200 newly elected councilmen attended institutes in Los Angeles and Berkeley. Included among lecture topics were: the job of the councilmen, councilmen and the law, finance administration, fire, police, recreation and parks, public works, personnel administration, city planning and public health.

The institutes will be repeated at two-year intervals by the California league after the April elections in the even-numbered years when more than 240 cities elect new councilmen.

#### Cincinnati and Dallas Train City Drivers

Cincinnati and Dallas have recently undertaken driver training "clinics" for employees who regularly drive city owned automotive equipment. A similar activity by Schenectady, New York, was described in these pages last month. Cincinnati has a three-day safety school; Dallas a one-day clinic. Since the opening of the latter in February the accident rate among the 800 city drivers has been reduced by more than 20 per cent.

Examiners of the United States Civil Service Commission recently underwent a related type of training. They, in turn, will conduct the training for prospective government truck drivers and chauffeurs.

#### International Local Authorities Union Stresses Education

The 1951 congress of the International Union of Local Authorities is scheduled for June, probably in Brighton, England. The chief topic will be local authorities and education; the second topic, water supply. In preparation for the meeting, representatives of each country have been asked to prepare reports on both subjects as to the situation in their respective nations. A printed questionnaire concerning education has been distributed as a guide for reports on that topic.

#### Old-Age Insurance for State and Local Employees

Amendments to the Federal Social Security Act, under House Resolution 6,000 as adopted by Congress, extend old age and survivors insurance to several occupational categories not previously covered, including various kinds of self-employed individuals, domestic, agricultural and government employees. A summary issued by the Municipal Finance Officers Association states:

"One of the changes made by this bill extends the old-age and survivors insurance provisions to employees of states and local governments not already covered by a local retirement system, by means of optional federalstate agreements, except employees of publicly owned transportation systems who are covered compulsorily under certain conditions. Employees who are already covered by an established state or local retirement system are excluded from social security coverage by means of a specific exemption. State and local government employees who are made eligible for coverage include those performing proprietary and nonproprietary duties. Coverage of such employees would be accomplished by

the adoption of an enabling act by the state legislature, embodying provisions consistent with the Social Security Act requirements and acceptable to the federal administrator."

### Reorganization Agencies in 27 States

With the addition of Kentucky, Maine and Rhode Island 27 states and two territories now have reorganization studies completed or under way, under agencies dealing with analyses of state administrative organization and problems of fiscal policy and tax revenue.

The Kentucky legislature recently created the Committee on Functions and Resources of State Government. The governor was authorized to appoint not more than 25 members, and \$25,000 was made available annually for the fiscal years 1950-51 and 1951-52. The committee will work with the Legislative Research Committee in making a comprehensive survey of the requirements and responsibilities of the state government and a study of the state tax structure.

The president of Bates College will head a 56-member Tax Revision Commission recently appointed by Governor Frederick G. Payne of Maine. The scope of the study will be much larger than the title of the commission indicates. The group will study not only revenue sources but also the manner in which tax funds are spent.

Rhode Island has authorized its governor to appoint a permanent seven-member Fiscal Advisory Council which will examine the governmental structure on state and local levels to determine what savings may be made without disrupting essential services and activities. The tax structure also is to be studied and consideration given to the feasibility

of a permanent tax system. The legislature has appropriated \$25,000 with which to employ staff assistance as required and to pay the traveling expenses of the council.

### Oregon to Vote on Constitutional and Other Measures

A so-called "balanced plan" of reapportionment for the legislature of Oregon will be voted on at the November general election as a proposed constitutional amendment. This is the plan sponsored by the Oregon Farm Bureau and others, which would supersede the existing constitutional requirement to apportion according to each county's ratio of population and would discriminate against Multnomah County, containing Portland, the state's largest city.

Three other proposed constitutional amendments will be voted on in November, having been referred to the people by the legislature. The first of these would raise the annual pay of state legislators to \$600, the present limit being \$400. The proposed amendment also removes a present limit of twenty days for special sessions.

Two other proposed amendments would authorize the use of state credit (1) to finance buildings for higher education and (2) to augment the Oregon war veterans' fund for aiding veterans to acquire farms and homes.

Also referred to popular vote, by a referendum petition, is the Needy Aged Persons Public Assistance Act (HB 436) which was adopted by the legislature in April 1949 and is under suspension pending the referendum. This act, if approved, will supersede the so-called Dunne initiative act, approved by the people in November 1948 but deemed to be in conflict with federal provisions and declared in-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>See the Review, May 1950, page 243.

operative by the state attorney general.

#### Juvenile Courts Aided by Proposed Florida Amendment

Five proposed constitutional amendments are to be voted on by the people of Florida, the legislature having approved them in 1949. Their significance is set forth in a booklet by Hulda Grobman of the Public Administration Clearing Service, University of Florida.

The first proposal would permit the legislature to establish juvenile courts in any county or district of more than one county and to vest in such courts exclusive original jurisdiction of all or any criminal cases involving minors. Although a few Florida counties now have juvenile courts the constitution requires that criminal acts of youths as well as adults be tried in the regular courts; and legislative efforts to establish a modern system of handling juvenile delinquents have been frustrated by constitutional limitations.

The next amendment would substitute the federal census for the special state census (taken half way between federal census years) in reapportionment of the House of Representatives and in "population acts." This would mean a large saving of money and effort; but it is pointed out that the preceding federal census is to be used "unless otherwise ordered by the legislature" — discretion that might be abused.

The third proposal requires the reenactment and publication of only such sections, subsections or paragraphs of an amended act as may contain changes, instead of reenactment and publication of the entire section or sections amended. It is intended to save printing costs and legislators' time in the reading and study of amending legislation.

The fourth amendment would establish Monroe County, containing Key West, as an additional judicial circuit separate from Dade County, containing Miami (160 miles distant), with which it is now linked.

The fifth would permit the election of an additional county judge in counties (Dade and Duval) of over 250,000 people, to help reduce crowded calendars and long delays.

### Illinois to Vote on "Gateway" Amendment

A vigorous and concerted effort is being made to arouse the Illinois electorate to vote on the proposed "gateway" amendment to the state constitution, which would relax the present stringent restrictions on constitutional amendments.

The constitution now provides that the legislature may propose amendments; that if approved by a two-thirds vote of all members of each house an amendment shall be submitted to the people at the next election for the legislature, in such manner as it may prescribe; that a majority of all those voting at the election is necessary for adoption; that amendments to no more than one article of the constitution may be submitted at one time; and that amendments to the same article may not be submitted more often than once in four years.

The present proposal would change this procedure to the extent that either a majority of those voting at the election or two-thirds of those voting on an amendment will suffice for adoption; and that the legislature may submit amendments to as many as three articles at a time; and that future amendments may be submitted either on a separate ballot or in a

separate column on the ballot, as the legislature may determine.

The Illinois Committee for Constitutional Revision, with many participating organizations, is working for the measure, which will be on a separate blue ballot on November 7. Such an amendment has been proposed six times in the last 58 years, but has been defeated, chiefly by public apathy and the need of a majority of all votes at a general election.

#### Connecticut School Commission Makes Statewide Survey

In Connecticut the Governor's Fact-Finding Commission on Education has concluded a statewide survey of schools, from nursery to adult classes, and has started a series of public hearings at which communities, professional educators and the commission's consultants will present recommendations, prior to rendition of a final report by the commission. The survey utilized a statewide advisory committee of officers and representatives of 50 lay and professional groups as well as community school study groups in 85 cities and towns.

## Three States Cooperate in Care of Delinquents

A seven-man committee, representing the states of Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont, has recommended construction of a tri-state institution for care and treatment of mentally defective delinquents, according to the Council of State Governments. would be constructed near the geographic center of the tri-state area. One state would assume a bonded obligation for construction costs, the other two to make capital contributions. It is proposed that maintenance costs be financed by a per capita charge upon the three states for each person committed to the institution.

The committee emphasized that defective delinquents do not belong in state hospitals for the mentally ill but often present too difficult a disciplinary problem in institutions for the mentally defective. The number of such delinquents in any of the three states is too small to warrant a separate institution. The committee also reported on treatment of alcoholics and the aged and made recommendations for further tri-state studies.

#### New York State Expands Training Plans

A selected group of 31 permanent New York State employees will receive a year's training in public administration. They will participate in a program together with the fourthyear group of public administration internes, who are chosen for high academic achievement from various universities. Both groups will meet during the year for a series of instiin personnel management, budgeting, administrative analysis and other skills in administration. Separate departments will be responsible for other phases of the training of individuals assigned to them.

Employee-trainees will continue to hold their regular jobs on a part-time basis and will be paid their regular salaries. The mingling of these two groups is expected to increase the effectiveness of the program.

The graduate program for state employees, conducted jointly by Syracuse and New York Universities, will be continued, thus enabling New York State employees in Albany to work for a master's degree in public administration.

The in-service and student-interne program is administered by the New York State Civil Service Department through its Training Division.

## County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

# Two Counties to Vote on Manager Plan

Charter Proposals Before Voters on November 7th

THE Board of Freeholders of Merced County, California, has drafted a home rule charter providing for a chief administrative officer to be appointed by the board of supervisors. His functions and powers would be those usually possessed by a county manager. The proposal will be submitted to a referendum on November 7 and, if a favorable vote is secured, it will go to the state legislature for final approval.

The supervisors would be elected from seven single-member districts for four-year overlapping terms and receive no compensation for their services. They would appoint the administrative officer for an indefinite term. who is directed to prepare an administrative code, appoint and remove subordinates, coordinate county activities, prepare the budget, plan county development, make financial reports, establish centralized purchasing, participate in board meetings without voting power, supervise county property and perform other duties as the board might direct.

The district attorney, board of education and justices of peace would continue to be elective. The board of supervisors would appoint the assessor, county counsel, clerk of the board, planning commission, health commission, recreation commission, personnel board and other boards or commissions not specified in the charter.

The administrative officer would appoint the county clerk, the engineer (who would be ex officio surveyor and road commissioner), librarian, recorder, director of welfare, finance officer, health officer, personnel clerk, purchasing agent, sheriff and other administrative personnel not specified by the charter. The charter requires adoption of a merit system and permits the recall of elective officers after six months. It prohibits the fee system of compensation.

#### Fairfax County Referendum

Voters of Fairfax County, Virginia, will finally have an opportunity to adopt a new charter. The board of supervisors has petitioned the judge of the circuit court, and he has agreed, to place two questions on the November 7 ballot. The first is, "Shall the county change its form of government"; the second, "In the event of such change which form of organization and government shall be adopted—county executive or county manager?" These are two slightly different optional charters approved by the legislature in 1932.

Action of the board of supervisors followed its receipt of a report from the Fairfax County Government Commission, appointed April 5 by the board. Previously a petition, signed by 2,100 voters, had asked a vote on the optional county manager plan. The League of Women Voters and other civic groups have long worked for a vote on the manager plan and have taken active part in public hearings before the study commission. The county's present form of government is the so-called executive secretary plan.

Onondaga County, New York, Drafts Manager Charter

In August the board of supervisors of Onondaga County—which includes the city of Syracuse and nineteen surrounding towns with a combined population of 340,875 — authorized the chairman of the board to appoint a joint committee of supervisors and citizen representatives to draft charter legislation looking forward to a county manager plan of government.

The committee has since been appointed and has held one organization meeting. Plans are being made for conducting the necessary inquiry and for drafting a bill to be introduced at the forthcoming session of the state legislature.

Appointment of the charter group was in response to a marked revival of interest in the question of county organization, both in Syracuse and in the towns. This revival occurred in February of this year when the Syracuse Governmental Research Bureau formally proposed a plan for a county manager form of reorganization. Supporting the bureau's proposal was a series of studies based upon an extensive examination of present county organization.

Onondaga County action coincides with a move originating with the Committee on Executive Form of County Government (the Marble committee) of the New York State legislature which, after enactment in 1950 of its recodification of general county law, has taken the responsibility for recodifying the fifteen year old optional forms of county government in New York State. These laws reflect the labors of the well known Mastick Commission and the pioneer efforts of Howard P. Jones, former secretary of the National Municipal League, in laying the foundation for county management in New York State.

It is the hope of the legislative committee that it will be possible to draft a county manager law which would have a broad appeal to counties throughout the state. Heretofore, interest in the matter has been confined to the largest and most populous counties. At present, Monroe County is operating under one of the standard options and Westchester and Nassau Counties are operating under special laws which call for an elective executive type of county government.

RICHARD A. ATKINS, Director Syracuse Governmental Research Bureau

Virginia Counties Discuss Manager Plan

The county manager plan continues to be very much in the news in Virginia. As noted above, Fairfax County will vote on the plan in November.

In Loudoun County, 650 voters have signed a petition, filed in circuit court, requesting that a date be set for a referendum on adoption of the "executive-manager form of government," according to the Richmond Times-Dispatch. The campaign for the signatures was led by the Loudoun County League of Women Voters.

In Frederick County a public meeting sponsored by the county board of agriculture was held recently in which the manager plan was the topic of discussion. Speakers included the county executive of Albemarle County and the field secretary of the League of Virginia Counties.

### Baltimore Countians Seek Home Rule

The Baltimore County, Maryland, Charter Petition Committee, appointed several months ago by the county commissioners to secure the requisite 10,000 signatures to place the question of a home rule charter on the ballot

in November 1950, recently issued a one-page leaflet in which it posed the following questions:

- 1. Do you believe it possible to reduce local taxes?
- 2. Should we shift authority over local laws from Annapolis to the county as permitted by our state constitution?
- 3. Do you think some sections of the county may be under-represented on the county board?
- 4. Are there additional services that you believe the county should render?

Explaining that, by signing the petition and voting for a charter board, the voter would indicate his desire to have these questions studied, the leaflet continued, "We are enlisting your support for a study to be made in this democratic manner irrespective of political party or faction. We are not part of any such group, and our sole interest is in letting the people decide this question for themselves."

### Study of Mississippi Counties Issued

As its first publication the Social Science Research Center of Mississippi State College has issued a study on county finances. It constitutes the major portion of a doctoral dissertation on Mississippi county government presented at the University of California, Los Angeles. It analyzes the revenue system, assessment of property, handling of funds, accounting and budget-making, and borrowing and indebtedness.

The author concludes that remarkable progress has been made in statecounty relations in the past fifteen years, but that improved administrative organization, perhaps through the manager plan, is indicated. He states that, "Indications point to a growing awareness of the problems of the county and of its value as a bulwark of democracy 'at the grass roots.' These are hopeful signs and, with patience, persistence and enlightened effort, the county may be revitalized and fitted for the place in the democratic system to which its heritage entitles it."

Grenada County Seeks Administrative Reorganization

The editor of the Grenada County, Mississippi, Weekly recently proposed abolition of the system whereby each of the five county supervisors acts as administrative head of his area in the county in favor of a unified system. Based on his own experience as a county supervisor, the editor says: "We have five separate counties [or administrative unitsl in one small county. Each supervisor runs his own beat, employs his own men, buys his own equipment, sets his own standard of wages and is his own purchasing agent. Instead of putting the interest of the general county first in his heart, he makes that interest secondary to the interest of 'my beat' and I don't blame him for that's where he gets his votes."

Second Oregon County Has Planning Commission

Under authority of an enabling act passed by the Oregon legislature in 1947, Washington County recently organized a county planning commission of nine members. Since only Lane County previously had established such a commission, Washington County is the second government unit to act under the permissive legislation.

The commission will undertake a (Continued on page 467)

<sup>&#</sup>x27;County Finances in Mississippi, by Gordon K. Bryan, State College, Mississippi, July 1950, 65 pages.

## **Proportional Representation**

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

## Denmark Elects New Folketing

## P. R. Used for Lower House of Parliament

THE Folketing, lower house of the Danish Riksdag (parliament) was elected on September 5 under a party list form of proportional representation. The 1950 distribution of seats was almost exactly proportional to popular votes, whereas in 1947 there were some deviations from proportionality doubtless resulting from the districting, which was revised in 1948.

The Social Democrats remain the largest party, gaining two seats to hold 59 out of 149, although they obtained a somewhat smaller relative vote than in 1947. The remaining 90 seats were divided among five parties. The largest of these, the Agrarian Liberals, lost seventeen seats, retaining but 32. The Conservatives gained ten to hold 27 and the Single

Tax party, which had come to notice by gains in the municipal election last March, doubled its small delegation to twelve. The Radical Liberals also obtained twelve seats, a gain of two, while the Communists lost two seats, leaving them with seven.

The election was precipitated by a dissolution of the lower house upon failure of the Social Democratic government of Premier Hans Hedtoft to obtain majority approval of a tax program and new economic controls. If the Social Democrats are still committed to those measures it is likely that a coalition of Conservative and Liberal parties will undertake to govern in spite of the slight increase in the Social Democratic delegation in parliament, according to a dispatch in the New York Times on September 6.

The results of the election, as reported by the Danish Information Office in New York City, are summarized in the table below. Changes over the 1947 election are shown in parentheses.

## DANISH FOLKETING ELECTION, SEPTEMBER 5, 1950

| Party  | Votes                                 | Percentage of Votes                       | Seats*                           | Percentage of Seats                          |
|--|---------------------------------------|---|----------------------------------|--|
| Social Democratic<br>Agrarian Liberal<br>Conservative<br>Justice Union | 813,591<br>437,952<br>365,298         | 39.6 (—3.8)<br>21.3 (—5.4)<br>17.8 (+5.7) | 59 (+ 2)<br>32 (-17)<br>27 (+10) | 39.6 (+ 1.1)<br>21.5 (—18.4)<br>18.1 (+ 6.6) |
| (Single Tax) Radical Liberal Communist Others                          | 168,418<br>167,719<br>94,495<br>6,407 | 8.2 (+3.8)<br>8.2 (+1.5)<br>4.6 (—2.0)    | 12 (+ 6)<br>12 (+ 2)<br>7 (- 2)  | 8.1 (+ 4.0)<br>8.1 (+ 1.3)<br>4.7 (— 1.4)    |
|  | 2,053,879                             |   | 149                              |  |

<sup>\*</sup>There were 148 seats filled in the 1947 election. One seat was added when the country was redistricted in 1948. These figures do not include two seats for the Faroe Islands.

Malta Elects Parliament by Hare System of P. R.

Final results of the P. R. election in Malta, announced September 11, disclosed that of the 40 members of the new Maltese Parliament twelve belong to the Nationalist party, eleven to the Left-Wing Labor party, eleven to the Moderate Labor party, four to the Constitutional party and one to the Democratic Action group. One member is an independent. Malta has used the single transferable vote form of P. R.—the Hare system—since 1921.

## British P. R. Society Issues Annual Report

Learning to Be Democrats is the title of the 1949-1950 report of the Proportional Representation Society of Great Britain. It contains a comprehensive review of P. R. elections throughout the world during the past year as well as a discussion of the British parliamentary elections of February 1950. Activities and publications of the society are reported and places using P. R.—both the Hare system and the list system-are tabulated. The report (40 pages) may be secured from the society's office. 82 Victoria Street, London, S. W. 1, at one shilling.

### P. R. League to Hold Annual Session

The annual meeting of the Proportional Representation League will be held at the Hotel Statler, in Buffalo, New York, on Tuesday morning, November 21. The meeting will take place during the sessions of the National Municipal League's National Conference on Government, November 20-22.

#### COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP

(Continued from page 465)

thorough study of county road needs to establish a system of priorities in the road improvement program and a study of subdivision regulations. When the county adopts regulations establishing subdivision standards, city planning jurisdiction over Washington County areas six miles beyond city limits will be terminated.

## Activities Grow in Maryland Counties

Several Maryland counties have initiated new functions reflecting their growing urban characteristics, according to the *Newsletter* of the Maryland State Planning Commission.

Baltimore County, separate from the city of Baltimore, through its board of recreation in cooperation with civic and recreational groups, is developing a community recreation planning program. Twenty-seven public areas, embracing 375 acres currently, are the subject of planning and development. The county planning commission is making a study of industrial land use.

The Montgomery County Council recently appointed a twelve man commission for medical care to determine the need for additional hospital units, coordinate existing medical and hospital facilities and provide for a hospital and medical care program. Its personnel board has issued a handbook for employees, You and Your Job with Montgomery County, Maryland.

Rural in character is the program of the Frederick County forest conservancy district which recently set as its goal the planting of a million trees within the next year in the development of the Monocacy River watershed.

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

## **Money Rate Dispute Harbinger of Controls**

Anti-inflation Program May Affect State-Local Finances

POSSIBLY the most important "war news" to break as summer 1950 drew to a close was a little publicized dispute between the United States Treasury and the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve Banks. It was won, at least temporarily, by the "Fed," with results likely in one way or another to affect the fiscal affairs of state and local governments, as well as of private citizens and business, for some time.

Basically. the conflict around the question whether the advantages of low interest rates for financing the Korean war and refinancing the debt legacy of World War II and the great depression are outweighed by the inflationary effects of a "cheap money" policy on the civilian economy. The Federal Reserve has for some time made no secret of its belief that money was too cheap, and there have been evidences of a growing reluctance on the part of its Open Market Committee (whose operations "pegged" the price of U. S. government securities) to keep interest rates at their recent low level. The Treasury, on the other hand, has talked a cheap money policy and adhered to one in "rolling over" government bond and note issues as they matured and were refinanced.

The stage was set for the recent development by the maturity of two blocks of United States obligations on September 15 and October 1, totaling \$13,570,000,000. When the federal budget is unbalanced, of course, large maturities are generally refunded, with the holders of the maturing obligations getting first call on the new issue. On August 18, after unofficial stories had broken news of the refinancing, the Treasury formally announced its plans for handling the September 15-October 1 financing. It would issue thirteenmonth obligations, bearing per cent coupon, or a yield on an annual basis slightly less than that of the maturing obligations.

The same day the Treasury made its announcement, the Federal Reserve Board announced approval of an increase in the rediscount rate charged by the Federal Reserve Bank of New York to member banks from 1½ per cent to 1¾ per cent. This of itself might have had little effect on the proposed Treasury refinancing, but the Federal Reserve on August 21 implemented its decision by establishing an open market policy of buying all offered "rights" in maturing 14s at the rate set by the Treasury and of selling from its portfolio any necessary amounts of short-term Treasury obligations to yield higher Within three weeks the figures. Federal Reserve had increased its holdings of certificates of indebtedness and maturing bonds by \$4,813,-000,000 and decreased its holdings of short term government paper by \$4,-204.000.000.

While the success of the Treasury refinancing is assured—the Federal Reserve itself will apparently be the chief holder of subscription rights to the thirteen-month 1¼ per cent refunding obligations—the Federal Re-

serve has accomplished its purpose of making short term money somewhat dearer. Discount bills, yielding 1.16 per cent in mid-August, were up to 1.31 per cent by the first week in September, while smaller increases were shown by short term and intermediate term maturities. For the period, the one-year maturity rate was up from the vicinity of 1¼ per cent to a 1% per cent basis.

This was, of course, news of a highly technical character, not for page one, but its significance extended to everyone for it was the first positive anti-inflationary move made since the Korean war boom began in July. To what extent the "Fed" by its action speeded up presidential approval of the economic stabilization act is not known, but it is not without interest that the Federal Reserve Board's promulgation of curbs on installment credit terms followed immediately on presidential approval of the law. It preceded, in fact, the president's own "belt tightening" address announcing establishment of the economic stabilization agencies.

The higher interest rates which have resulted from the Federal Reserve's action are not sufficiently high to cause dismay to state and municipal officials with large improvement programs still to be financed with borrowed money, but they are sufficient to constitute the psychological warning for which they were at least partially intended. To this writing, the market for municipal bonds has not shown much evidence of any effect one way or the other, a situation reflecting mainly continued lively interest in municipals by investors (heightened by proposed personal income tax rate increases) and by keen competition among dealers and other bidders. The situation seems to be that dealers expect an increase in rates on shorter maturities, but in the bidding no one is willing to shade bids for fear of losing out to competitors. Ultimately, cities and other local units will pay somewhat more for the money they borrow, but whether this will be a deterrent to the issuance of a continuing large volume of local government bonds remains to be seen.

## San Francisco Voters Say No!

San Francisco voters refused to approve eight out of nine local ballot measures at the June 6 primary election to break a ten-year trend of approving ballot measures seemingly regardless of cost. Measures that were procedural in character involving no additional cost, as well as costly salary and pension proposals, were defeated.

A surprising thing about this upset was the substantial majorities polled against fire and police department salary increases. Previously both business interests and the general public apparently would give these departments anything they requested. In this election the police department salary raise lost by 119,000 to 71,000. Firemen who had circulated an initiative petition providing \$420 per year increase to a maximum of \$4,200 and secured 132,000 signatures, fared even worse. Their proposition polled only 83,855 votes with 107,261 against it. An important factor was the first effective organized citizen opposition to such proposals in a decade.

One must go back to the spring election of 1939 to find a similar outcome. Only one issue was on the ballot. A citizens committee used the referendum to place a new salary schedule for city hall employees on the ballot. It provided for \$1,500,000 in salary increases and was defeated

three to one. Prior to 1939 the public had repeatedly refused to approve fire and police pension measures granting greatly increased benefits. They also refused to pass most bond issues, the only exceptions being small school, airport, hospital and county jail bonds and so-called unemployment issues in the early depression period.

Since 1939 the voters have generally been liberal in their attitude towards spending measures. Bond issues authorized by the voters totaled \$200,840,000. The policemen and firemen had appealed successfully to the public sixteen times for either improved pay or pension systems.

The record discloses no parallel in 50 years for the defeat of eight out of nine measures in the 1950 election.

Citizen opposition centered on the city and county employees salary measure. A proposed ordinance setting city employee salaries in accord with generally prevailing salaries in private employment in San Francisco and public jurisdictions in the state of California, which was compiled by the Civil Service Commission, was ignored by a majority of the board of supervisors who decided to use percentage increases across the board. The ordinance finally placed on the ballot provided for 8 per cent for employees up to \$500 per month and 6 per cent for those receiving \$501 to \$833.33 per month with certain exceptions.

As a result of the election the taxpayers will not be forced to pay an additional \$4,646,586 in taxes annually or 38.1 cents increase in the property tax rate on each \$100 of assessed value. Whether the citizens' reaction was merely resentment at a ballot overloaded with city employee demands, or means that they have finally reversed their attitude towards free spending, time alone will tell. The best guess seems to be that the time when the public will approve any measure without regard to its cost has passed, at least for the present.

Alfred F. Smith, Director

Bureau of Governmental Research San Francisco

## Financial Reporting Recognized

A certificate of compliance, indicating adherence to the standards of municipal financial reporting recommended by the National Committee on Governmental Accounting, has been awarded by the committee and the Municipal Finance Officers Association to the nineteenth unit of government, Thetford Mines, Quebec.

The other eighteen units are: Saint-Jean, Quebec; Rockcliffe Park and township of Tisdale, Ontario; Berkeley, Oakland and Stockton, California; Detroit, Pontiac and Saginaw, Michigan; Barrington, Rhode Island; Honolulu, Territory of Hawaii; Chicago Park District, Illinois; Kansas City, Missouri; Knoxville Utilities Board, Tennessee; New Haven, Connecticut; Harrisonburg, Virginia; and the states of Michigan and Rhode Island.

If this seems a small list—and it is—it must be recognized that many otherwise excellent annual financial reports are ineligible for the certificate because the system of accounts and accounting classifications imposed by state law or city charter preclude complete adherence to the recommended system. More gratifying is the fact that a large number of municipal financial reports carry some note to the effect that, "This report follows the recommendations of the National Committee on Governmental Accounting to the extent compatible

(Continued on page 480)

Citizen Action

Edited by Elsie S. Parker

## Citizen Groups Probe City Operations

Little Hoover Commissions Help Solve Local Problems

CITIZEN advisory committees, frequently appointed by the mayor. have been lending their talents to wities in an effort to solve the many problems facing communities today. Sometimes known as "Little Hoover Commissions," many of them are doing an excellent volunteer job of analyzing local governmental affairs. Others, especially in large cities like Los Angeles and New York<sup>1</sup> bringing in governmental experts to make recommendations and the city will foot the bill.

The Commission on the Economic Study of Milwaukee, composed of five citizens appointed by the mayor in 1948, completed in four months a comprehensive study with recommendations which has greatly benefited the city's economic situation.3 Research for the project was supervised by Professor Harold M. Groves of the University of Wisconsin, who gave his time as a civic contribution. He assigned four graduate students to the project.

The Stamford (Connecticut) Citizens Committee to Study the City Government has made a comprehensive management survey which has cost neither the city nor the committee a penny. At the suggestion of the Stamford Good Government Association, the mayor of that city appointed a committee of five, whom the association recommended. undertake the project. These men in turn appealed to public-spirited industries to supply a technical and professional staff. One firm provided an office for the staff. Seventeen engineers, methods men, accountants, etc., were assigned to the city departments.

In each department studies were made of: performance of the department's functions, its methods of operation and job analysis, efficiency of layout and personnel, use of laborsaving devices, existence of overlapping functions, efficiency and adequacy of supervision, and a comparison of costs with the same departments in cities elsewhere. Since the city and town of Stamford had consolidated in 1949 as a result of adoption by the voters of a consolidated charter, costs of running departments were compared also with costs under the previous dual setup.

Local business cooperated even to the extent of getting out the committee's report. Two firms, working together, turned it out in their own plants.

The Progress Report to the mayor and city council of the Alameda (California) Citizens' Advisory Committee analyzes the work that group has already done and lists projects for the future. Its research has been conducted in five major fields: Comparative study of activities and policies of other citizens' advisory commit-

See "Future of an Oversize City,"

by Luther Gulick, the Review, July 1950, page 324.

"See "Economic Study Pays Off," by Bruno V. Bitker and William L. Slayton, the Review, July 1949, page 324.

Report of the Citizens' Committee to Study the City Government. Stamford Good Government Association, 1950, 131 pages. Price \$1.

tees; studies of departmental expenditures and organization of Alameda compared with other selected cities; study of Alameda's tax structure as compared with that of other cities; preparation of a handbook on proposed capital improvements with alternative methods of programming and financing them; studies of the police and fire employees' pension system and certain other large municipal expenditures.

Organized in March 1950, under authority of the mayor and council, the committee is composed of 25 citizens divided into eight subcommittees: executive, municipal revenue, capital improvements, finance, parks and recreation, police and fire, public health and safety and general government.

A brief description of the work of several citizen advisory committees is contained in People at Work (eleven pages) prepared by Harry L. Morrison, Jr., executive secretary of the Alameda committee.

According to the report, in Santa Rosa, California, a committee of ten recommended a city manager to place the community on a businesslike basis, a sales tax to aid the city's exchequer, as well as numerous other improvements. In Toledo a committee of 55, appointed by the mayor, recommended that taxes be raised to pay off old debt, that capital improvements be put on a pay-as-you-go basis and that the council give more attention to operating on a strict budget basis.

A 1947 citizens committee of 25 in studied Napa, California, health and safety, streets, the police department and parks, recreation and buildings, filing its report in February 1948 with the city council. Committees have made studies in Berkeley and Gilrov (California), New Orleans, Chattanooga, St. Louis, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Wichita Falls (Kansas), according to the report.

New Groups Expand

The Citizens Association of Kansas Missouri. organized months ago,5 has begun publication of a bulletin. The Kansas City Citizen. Hugh Robinson, executive secretary of the organization, is editor. In its first article the Citizen compares "city" hall government with Jackson County government." "City hall is a tightlyknit governmental unit, with the manager, under the city council, exercising control over the budget and virtually all departments. In the courthouse the equivalents of department heads are elected, subject to little or no control by any other county official. In some cases not even the county court, which sets tax levies, can control departmental budgets." Numerous other comparisons are made pointing up the efficiency of the city and the lack of it in the county.

"Finer communities are built by citizens who care," says the slogan of the Municipal League of Spokane. Organized less than a year ago, the league has started publication of a News Letter According to recent issues, fifteen standing committees have been named "to undertake the plan and purpose of the league." Activities of some are already well under way. The school committee is conducting "a thorough and exhaustive study of classrooms and building facilities in the city's public schools." The city-county planning committee is making a study of needs in a coordinated planning program and has already received from some of its

<sup>\*</sup>See "Corrupt But Not Contented," the Review, October 1948, page 473

\*See "Kansas City Revives Civic Group," the Review, July 1950, page 360.

members reports which it will investigate. Another committee plans a detailed study and analysis of traffic and parking problems.

Group Activities

The Seattle Municipal News has published a series of "thumb-nail appraisals of our local government." Citizens are somewhat below average in their civic interest on the basis of voter turnout at the 1948 mayoralty election, says the News, and only average on the basis of the 1948 presidential election returns. Other appraisals cover forms of local government, reporting to the public, area and population density, financial soundness and employment practices. parisons are made with cities of Seattle's population group having similar economic and social characteristics.

The Oklahoma Public Expenditures Council reports that "the turnout at the polls on July 4 was gratifying" to them as well as other state organizations which participated in the "Get-Out-the-Vote" campaign. Several single-sheet flyers, widely circulated by the Oklahoma "Get-Out-the-Vote" Committee, blazoned "Your One Vote Counts!"

A city-wide investigation of gambling corruption is strongly urged by the Citizens Union of New York City. Following up its request to the mayor for an investigation of police corruption in connection with illegal gambling, the union has now called upon the district attorneys to conduct probes in their own boroughs, with exchange of leads and information.

The speakers bureau of The Citizens Plan "E" Association of Worcester is not only prepared to furnish speakers on the city's Plan E charter, proportional representation in the counting of the ballot, what the city

is doing under the new charter, etc., but it has also given its speakers hints on how to present the talks and prepared manuscripts covering the subjects. The association has been interviewing candidates for the state legislature with a view to endorsing those pledging full support to Plan E—council-manager government with proportional representation for the election of the council.

The Civic Club of Allegheny County (Pittsburgh) reports that although a county-wide smoke control law is now in effect, the work of its Smoke Committee continues. Its program is (1) to educate citizens of the county on the provisions of the law and (2) to insist on proper enforcement of the law by county officials. The committee is functioning as part of the United Smoke Council, which the Civic Club was instrumental in forming.

Town Meeting

Pre-town meetings are becoming popular in Massachusetts communities, reports *Taxtalk*, issued by the Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations. Sponsored by local taxpayer groups, the sessions discuss matters to be brought before the official town meeting for decision. Citizens are thus able to cast a more intelligent vote.

#### Recent Publications

A new leaflet of the Connecticut Citizens' Committee on State Government is Your Family Shares the Cost—Does the State Government Waste Your Money? The committee is publicizing the recently published report of the Commission on State Government Organization.<sup>1</sup>

"No form of government is better than the men who run it," says the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>See the Review for March, page 140.

League of Women Voters of Des Moines in its six-page leaflet Need a Yardstick for Judging Council Candidates? Its "yardstick" would be a good one for any local group to use.

Better Government—Economy in Our Time (fourteen pages) sets forth the platform of the New Jersey Taxpayers Association.

The Washington Voters' Handbook (71 pages, 50 cents), by Ernest H. Campbell and George D. Smith, published by the Bureau of Governmental Research and Services of the University of Washington at Seattle, was prepared at the request of the League of Women Voters of Washington. New edition of a 1948 report, the Handbook covers just about all the questions a potential voter needs to have answered. Listed are voting qualifications, registration and voting procedures, how to become a citizen. how to become a nominee, how the president is elected, the working of the initiative, referendum and recall. Appendices show classifications of counties, list the 238 municipalities of the state. Maps portray legislative districts. A sample ballot is attached to the inside back cover.

The Citizens Union of New York City has published "A Complete Record of Legislation in the Council and the Board of Estimate of New York City" 1949. George H. Hallett, Jr., secretary of the union, has written an appraisal of the 1950 legislative session at Albany, where over 6,000 bills were introduced—most of them failing of passage.

The Unspared Rod, a Progress Report of the Committee of 70 of Philadelphia (12 pages), is liberally sprinkled with drawings of a gentleman whose body is made up of the numerals "70." This character is shown investigating the magistrates' courts, kicking out the old-fashioned ballot box in favor of voting machines, knocking at the door

of the state legislature with a home rule bill for the city, describing election procedure to school classes and, last but not least, investigating the neglect of the city's water and sewer systems with a clothespin clamped down on his nose. "For the last 46 years," says the pamphlet, "the Committee of 70, the citizens' civic patrolman in plain clothes, has been snatching the veil of secrecy from corruption, fraud and incompetence in city government and the conduct of elections."

The Dynamics of Discussion, by D. M. Hall, assistant professor of Agricultural Extension, University of Illinois (The Interstate, Danville, Illinois, 66 pages, 75 cents), is an "operating manual" for group work. It suggests how to form the group, steps in defining the problem and procedure to solve the problem.

The Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report has just issued its Circular Letter No. 10, devoted to "Reductions in Postal Deficits" (fifteen pages). "If the recommendations of the Hoover Commission are enacted and installed vigorously," says the letter, the Post Office Department deficit for 1951, estimated at \$555,000,000 in the President's Budget Message, "can be reduced by \$262,000,000 or more."

"Meeting Community Needs Thru Conference Planning," by Dorothy and Curtis Mial, institute director and field service director of the New York State Citizens' Council, and Olaf F. Larson, professor of sociology at Cornell University, is an evaluation case study of the New York Citizens' Council. It has been reprinted from the Adult Education Bulletin (Cleveland).

A Report on Citizens Organizations (52 pages, mimeographed, 50 cents), by the Civic Advisory Council of Toronto, was prepared for the consideration of its committee on reorganization of the council. Describing the setup of numerous groups in the United States

(Continued on page 484)

Edited by John E. Bebout

475

# Principle and Practice

n State Government

esearcher's Digest

## Reports on Constitutions and Administration Pile Up

NE SURE result of the movement to modernize state constitions and administrations is the iling up of an unprecedented amount f printed and mimeographed literaeire on state government.

The Council of State Governments as issued for two dollars an indisensable manual, Reorganizing State Sovernment—a Report on Administrative languement in the States and a Review of Recent Trends in Reorganization. The wook begins with a brief review of me theory and principles of adminisrative reorganization. It then summarizes the organization of state govrnment today under eleven heads and concludes with a similar review of he trend of recent reports on state corganization in numerous states and erritories. The volume abounds in aseful tables of character familiar to isers of the Book of the States.

Students and researchers in state government will also be interested in the June number of the Council of State Governments' publication, State Government. This number presents the following articles: "State Government at Mid-Century," by Charles E. Merriam; "The Role of the States in Education Since 1900," by Walter D. Cocking; "Fifty Years of Accomplishment on State Highways," by Thomas H. MacDonald; "Public Welfare and Health, 1900-1950," by Fred K. Hoehler; "State Conservation and Development of Natural sources," by Roland R. Renne; "The

States Are in the Middle." by John M. Gaus.

Ever since A. E. Buck set forth five "standards of administrative reorganization" in The Reorganization of State Governments in the United States. published for the National Municipal League by the Columbia University Press (now out of print), it has been more or less customary for reports on this subject to propound similar principles or standards of public administration. A good brief summary of orthodox principles is the opening feature of a rather novel 67-page Handbook for the Study of State Government Administration, by the Minnesota Efficiency in Government Commission, for which LeRoy F. Harlow is director of research. The remainder of the volume consists of a check list of 391 practical suggestions in question form designed "to promote increased efficiency and economy in state government operations." The volume concludes with 84 definitions.

Robert Johnson, director, has prepared for the Oregon Interim Committee on State Administration a 64mimeographed memorandum which includes an introductory discussion of objectives, principles and summaries of governmental reorganization in Oregon, reorganization in other states and present organization of state governments. The memorandum shows very clearly the wide gap between the commonly accepted "principles" and the present status of administration in most states.

The literary battle for a new constitution for Connecticut continues. Among the more significant and substantial contributions to this battle is a two-part article "A New Constitution for Connecticut," by Professor

Braden of Yale Law D. School and Fred V. Cahill, Jr., assistant professor of political science at Yale University. Professor Braden was the project director of the survey unit on the constitution for the Commission on State Government Organization. Mr. Cahill was his principal project associate. Part I of the article appeared in the Connecticut Bar Journal for June. It reviews the background and explains section by section the first five articles of the new constitution proposed by the Connecticut Commission.

An illuminating explanation of the reasons for the remarkable success of New Hampshire's Little Hoover Commission in securing almost complete adoption of its proposals is provided in an article in *Tax Outlook* published by the Tax Foundation, New York City, for July. The article, by Dr. John F. Sly, who was a staff consultant of the commission, is headed "Approved—Unanimously! In Nine Months New Hampshire Drafts, Discusses and Approves State Reorganization Plan."

The New Hampshire Taxpayers Federation's July issue of the New Hampshire Taxpayer includes a discussion of problems and progress in carrying out the New Hampshire reorganization.

The Michigan Joint Legislative Committee on Reorganization of State Government has issued a fourpage bulletin prepared by the Bureau of Governmental Research at Detroit consisting of an appallingly graphic presentation of the maze which is "Michigan State Administrative Organization."

State Governmental Organization in Kansas, 1865-1950, by Jack F. McKay and Howard Hallman, a sixteen-page "Citizens' Pamphlet" from the Bureau of Government Research at the Uni-

versity of Kansas, gives a clear pic ture of the growth of Kansas state government since statehood in 1861 The picture is made graphic by organi zation charts dated January 1, 1865 1885, 1905, 1925 and 1950.

The Public Administration Clearing Service of the University of Florida has recognized the current movement for revision of the Florida constitution by devoting the second and third numbers in its Civic Information Series to the subject. These numbers are Modernizing State Constitutions, by J. E. Dovell, and The Constitution of Florida, by Manning J. Dauer.

### Intergovernmental Relations Studies

The first three of ten monographs in the intergovernmental relations series edited by William Anderson and Edward W. Weidner, to be published at intervals until early 1952, are; Intergovernmental Relations and the Courts by Forrest Talbott; Intergovernmenta Relations in Highways, by R. A Gomez; Intergovernmental Relations in Education, by Robert L. Morlan.

The series will constitute the definitive report on extensive studies made in Minnesota since 1946 under a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. The ten monographs may be ordered now from the University of Minnesota Press for \$25. Purchased singly at list price the series would cost \$34.50.

The forthcoming numbers are Intergovernmental Relations in Publi-Health, by Laurence Wyatt; Intergovernmental Relations in Social Welfare, by Ruth Raupp; Intergovernmenta Relations in Employment Security, by Francis E. Rourke; Intergovernmenta Relations in Agriculture, by Robert A MacDonald; Intergovernmental Fisca Relations by Waite D. Durfee, Jr. Minnesota and its Local Governments

y Edward W. Weidner and staff;

\*\*Innesota and the Nation, by William
\*\*nderson and staff.

### Springfield Library Study

Future Springfield, Inc., Sherman D. Voorhees, executive director, has sued an unusual study in communiservice. It is a 110-page, illustrated eport, The Springfield City Library Issociation (price \$1.25), prepared for layor Daniel B. Brunton and the rustees of the City Library Assocition. Charles M. Mohrhardt, associate irector of the Detroit Public Library. nd Francis Cormier, of the Parks Department of the City of New York, were the consultants. Mr. Mohrhardt wrote Part I, "The Springfield City ibrary," and Mr. Cormier Part II The Springfield Museums."

Springfield's City Library Assocition is an unusual if not unique muasi-public body, partly supported by ndowment and partly by city funds, which administers the city library and ms branches, the Museum of Natural listory, the George Walter Vincent Smith Museum, the Connecticut Valey Historical Museum and the Springield Museum of Fine Arts. tudy covers the services provided by hese institutions and horoughly organizational structure, management, personnel practices and relations with other public agencies.

Numerous specific recommendations are pointed up throughout the reports and summarized at the end of each part. Future Springfield, Inc., appends seven recommendations of its own dealing with such practical matters as telephone book listing, parking, trash cans, publicity, rest rooms. As in the case of previous Future Springfield reports, it is attractively gotten up and illustrated and includes numerous well planned tables and charts.

Bureau Notes

The Tokyo Institute for Municipal Research has just sent a 1948 pamphlet giving a brief account of the establishment of the institute in 1922 on the advice of Charles A. Beard and reviewing its objectives, work and facilities. Mr. Sadayoshi Tanabe, managing director of the institute. also provided information about the National Municipal League of Japan, organized in 1948 as a league of Japanese cities to conduct joint studies, exchange materials and continue the biennial national conference on municipal problems which has been held since 1927. The eleventh conference took place in Yokohama in 1949 with 1,715 participants discussing: (1) Scientific management of municipal administration and (2) questions of local government police and fire brigade.

The Tokyo Institute has also set up the Local Autonomy Research Institute for the purpose of contributing to the development of local autonomy through investigation of relevant problems and publication of information. Membership is open to anyone engaged in local government affairs or interested in improving local administration. Its principal undertaking is publication of the magazine Local Government.

# Research Pamphlets and Articles

Budgets

Baltimore City Budget Appropriations. (Showing ten-year trend.)
Baltimore City Budget Revenues. (Showing ten-year trend.) City Budget-Making and the Citizen. (With recommended procedure for better citizen participation in city budget-making.) Baltimore, Commission on

Governmental Efficiency and Economy, Your Tax Dollar, July and August 1950. 2, 2 and 5 pp. respectively.

City Budget for 1950-1951. Providence, Governmental Research Bureau, Bulletin, July-August 1950. 4 pp.

1951 Budget Suggestions. Seattle, University of Washington, Association of Washington Cities in cooperation with the Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, Washington Municipal Bulletin, June 30, 1950. 23 pp.

Organization and Staff for Boston's Budget Department. Boston, Municipal Research Bureau, June 1950. 28 pp.

What Local Governments Propose to Spend Next Year. Des Moines, Iowa, Taxpayers Association, Civic Flashes, July 31, 1950. 1 p.

#### County Government

Some County Problems. Federal and State Laws Increase Costs. By Willard Smith. Los Angeles, California Taxpayers' Association, August 1950. 5 pp. 25 cents.

#### Education

Citizens Take a Look at \$113,391,803 Los Angeles 1950-51 Tentative School Budget. Los Angeles, Government Research, Monthly Bulletin, July 1950. 4 pp.

City-County Educational Relationships in Tennessee. By George C. Howard, Jr., and Edith Foster Howard. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Bureau of Public Administration, 1950. v, 32 pp.

Finances and Administration, University of Nevada. Reno, Nevada Taxpayers Association, Nevada Tax Review, July 1950. 15 pp.

Financing Education in Efficient School Districts. A Study of School Finance in Illinois. By Francis G. Cornell, William P. McLure, Van Miller, Raymond E. Wochner. Urbana, University of Illinois, Bureau of Research and Service, 1949. 165 pp.

One-Teacher Schools in U. S. A Downward Trend Reported. B Walter H. Gaumnitz and David T Blose. Los Angeles, California Tax payers' Association, Tax Digest August 1950. 6 pp. 25 cents.

School Census, Cost, Indebtednes and Transportation. Denver, Colorad Public Expenditure Council, Colorad Taxpayer, August 1950. 4 pp.

Who Pays the Piper? The Fisca Side of the Public Schools. By H LeRoy Jackson. Hartford, State Ba Association of Connecticut, Connecticu Bar Journal, June 1950. 20 pp.

#### Home Rule

Home Rule for Municipalities. B Edith Foster Howard. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Bureau of Publi Administration, 1949. iv, 39 pp.

#### Hospitals

A Survey of Thirty Public Hospi tals. Salaries, Rates of Charges, Ad mission Standards. San Antonio Planning Board of San Antonio an Bexar County, Bureau of Govern mental Research, 1950. 27 pp.

#### Illegitimacy

Filiation and Related State Legislation. Springfield, Illinois Legislativ Council, 1950. ii, 33 pp.

#### Justices of the Peace

A Guidebook of the Justice of th Peace. By Huey Blair Howerto and Helen Hyde McIntire. University University of Mississippi, Bureau of Public Administration, 1950. v, 48 pr

#### Licenses

City Bureau of Licenses. Schenes tady, Bureau of Municipal Research Research Brevities, June 9, 1950. 8 pt

#### Missouri Basin Development

Bibliography of Materials on Missouri Basin Development. By Virgini Coker Westfall. Vermillion, University of South Dakota, Governmenta Research Bureau, 1950, 24 pp.

#### Municipal Government

Appraisal of City Government in Schenectady, New York. A Report by Abbett Pulliam. Schenectady, Bureau of Municipal Research, Research Brevities, June 14, 22 and 29. 6, 3 and 4 pp. respectively.

Form and Structure of City Government in Florida. By Hulda Grobman. Gainesville, University of Florida, Public Administration Clearing Service,

1950. 8 pp.

#### Pensions

Pressure for Pensions. The League Reports on Retirement Plans in Local Governments. Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division, Newsletter, June 1950. 9 pp.

#### Personnel

Baltimore's Municipal Personnel. Baltimore, Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, Your Tax Dollar, July 1950, 4 pp.

Eighteen Thousand on State Payroll as of June 1950. Hartford, Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, Taxpayers News, August 1950. 1 p.

The Heart of the State Personnel Problem. (Chief deficiencies of personnel administration in Nevada.) Reno, Nevada Taxpayers Association, 1950.

A Reduction in Number of City Employees. Schenectady, Bureau of Municipal Research, Research Brevities, August 22, 1950. 2 pp.

#### Police

Atlantic City's Police Resources. An Examination of Police Performance, Requirements and Costs in a Resort Community. Atlantic City, New Jersey, Tax Survey Commission, 1950.

Joint Use of Police Radio Systems. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, Associated Institutes of Government of Pennsylvania Universities, Municipal Administration, July 1950. 3 pp.

Maryland Municipal Police Systems. By Christian L. Larsen and Edmund C. Mester. College Park, University of Maryland, Bureau of Public Administration, 1950. 22 pp.

The Police and the Public. By Richard L. Holcomb. (Distinctively illustrated with numerous cartoons.) Iowa City, State University of Iowa, Institute of Public Affairs, 1950. 36 pp.

#### Public Employee Bonds

New Blanket Bond. (Now available to local governments throughout the country.) By Philip P. Laing. Storrs, University of Connecticut, Institute of Public Service, Connecticut Government, July 1950. 3 pp.

#### Public Health

Report on the Maryland State Department of Health. ("Concentrates on problems of functional allocation, structure, controls and internal service operations"; recommends substantial overall reorganization of the department, a few other changes requiring legislation, and many others requiring only administrative action. Many proposals were planned jointly by the bureau and operating units concerned.) Baltimore, State Fiscal Research Bureau, 1950. ix, 107 pp. 37 charts.

#### Public Welfare

Total Cost of Public Welfare in Monroe County for the Welfare Years 1938-1949. Including County, City and Town Expenditures. Rochester, New York, Bureau of Municipal Research, Municipal Research, June-July 1950. 2 pp. Tables.

#### Public Works

Business Management for Public Works. Providence, Rhode Island, Governmental Research Bureau, Bulletin, June 1950. 2 pp.

#### Salaries

Monthly Salary Ranges of Miscellaneous City and County Positions.
Oakland, California, Alameda County

Taxpayers Association, 1950. 9 pp. Tables.

#### Sewers

Sewer and Sewage Treatment Plant Improvement Program. Schenectady, Bureau of Municipal Research, Research Brevities, August 11, 1950. 9 pp.

Sewer Rentals as a Means of Financing Sanitation Improvements in Connecticut Towns and Cities. By John E. Dever. Storrs, University of Connecticut, Institute of Public Service, July 1950. 11 pp.

#### Special Assessments

Special Assessments. Lincoln, Nebraska, Governmental Research Institute, Bulletin, July 1950. 3 pp.

#### Streets and Highways

Planting, Maintenance and Removal of Trees From Streets. Including Considerations with Reference to Street Lighting and Liability of Municipalities and Abutting Property Owners. By Joseph H. Vogel. Seattle, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services in cooperation with Association of Washington Cities, 1950. 74 pp. Charts, bibliography. \$1.

#### Taxation and Finance

Financing State Government. Massachusetts Revenue Collections and Dispositions 1949. Boston, Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations, 1950. 26 pp.

A Rating for the Cities. (Fourth annual comparative report on 25 western Pennsylvania cities.) Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division, Newsletter, July 1950. 18 pp. Tables.

Revenues and Expenditures of Eleven Utah Cities 1948-1949. Salt Lake City, Utah Foundation, 1950. 6 pp.

Seventeenth Annual Study of Debts, Taxes, Assessments. Chicago, Civic Federation, Bulletin, May 1950.

State and Local Finance in Virginia.

Papers Presented to the Institute on State and Local Finance, Arlington, Virginia, January 27-28, 1950. Charlottesville, University of Virginia, Bureau of Public Administration, 1950. v, 57 pp.

Tax Rate at All-Time High. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bulletin*, August 29, 1950. 2 pp.

The Tax System of Hawaii. (Revised.) By Robert M. Kamins. Honolulu, University of Hawaii, Legislative Reference Bureau, 1950. 37 pp.

#### Water Systems

The Next Steps in the City's Water Loan Program. Baltimore, Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, Your Tax Dollar, June 1950, 4 pp.

What Shall We Do For Water? New York, Citizens Budget Commission, July 13, 1950. 7 pp.

## TAXATION AND FINANCE (Continued from page 470)

with the system of records we are required to maintain." Unfortunately, even a list expanded to include these ineligibles would be all too short.

#### A Correction

In a note in this department for June, congratulating the National Association of Assessing Officers for advocating that assessed valuations be brought up to date with a discounting of present-day prices only for occupancy premiums and shelter bonuses etc., mention was made of an upstate New York City which was in process of completing a reassessment using 1941 price and cost levels as the base for full value. New construction is also being assessed on the basis o 1941 unit costs, not on present-day costs as erroneously stated in the note Happily, therefore, taxpaying owner of new structures are not being dis criminated against.

## Books in Review

The Initiative and Referendum in california. By Winston W. Crouch. cos Angeles, The Haynes Foundation, 2950. 56 pp. 50 cents.

This excellent monograph brings own to date the foundation's prior eviews of 1939 and 1943. If scholars the thirteen other states where the mitiative is available would produce imilar studies, the picture of statewide direct legislation would be comblete, but if we must be content with sample, California is the state whose experience we all are most curious to examine.

In most states legislatures submit constitutional amendments to popular wote. But California, with a bulky contitution packed with detail that ought mever to have been put there, has used hat familiar procedure 278 times in he 38 years, 1912-1949, resulting in adoption of 161 amendments. There are, in addition, 155 "direct legislation" neasures that have been submitted: 70 constitutional amendments were subnitted by petition of which twenty were adopted, 51 statutes were submitted by petition and fourteen adopted, and 34 petitions for referenda to veto laws passed by the legislature killed 21 of them. So, of these 155 measures, active popular intervention adds up to the modest total of 34 measures placed on the books and 21, already passed by the legislature, killed.

Some of the initiated measures were radical or improvident but only one such ever passed—unexpectedly—and was repealed by another initiative proceeding a year later. On the other hand some important advances have thus been secured despite hostile legislatures.

The general picture is reassuring and should allay the fears of those who oppose the adoption of "I & R" in other states.

R. S. C.

Transforming Public Utility Regulation. By John Bauer, assisted by Peter Costello. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1950. xi, 367 pp. \$5.

Government regulation of privately owned utilities, including gas, electric, water, telephone and transportation companies, has shown an irregular development over the last 40 years. Not all states have comprehensive regulatory commissions and among those that do there is still much variation in practices and policies-tendtoward substantial uniformity through the National Association of Railroad and Utility Commissioners and the example of leading federal and state commissions. Dr. Bauer, long in contact with utility regulation as a student, consultant and critic, has written various books dealing with the subject and now professes to set forth goals and procedures for making regulation a more effective instrument of general public welfare than he considers it to be at present.

In this attempt the present diversity of development naturally leads to a treatment in various stages: a somewhat discursive detailing of generally established practices, an emphasizing of advanced methods and policies adopted by some but not all of the commissions, and recommendations going beyond present development.

An outstanding feature of Dr. Bauer's program is the proposed establishment of a "rate equalization reserve"—it might also be called an income stabilization reserve—which would be built up from revenues in excess of "total costs" (including bond interest and a fixed dividend on common as well as preferred stock). If revenue in a particular year is less than such total cost the amount of the difference would be transferred from the reserve to income so as to

maintain the fixed dividend (if cash were available for the purpose). If the reserve were to rise above a certain limit, set with commission approval, a reduction in utility rates would be in order; conversely a shrinkage of the reserve below a set limit would call for a rate increase.

This "equalization" plan, if legal and practicable, would tend to simplify rate regulation, from the capital standpoint; but with the reduction or elimination of financial incentive for economy or efficiency on the part of private management it would call for greater commission control of operations. This would place a heavy burden on the commissions, of doubtful legality (the courts discourage commission interference in management) and would raise the question whether outright public ownership and operation are not preferable.

H. M. O.

The New York Civil Service. 72nd Annual Report. New York, Civil Service Reform Association, 1950. 15 pp.

This association deals only with New York State. It deplores the run-down conditions of the Municipal Civil Service Commission former Mayor O'Dwyer and the prospects for further deterioration in view of the new appointments to its membership, "The publicized disclosures of impersonation in examinations and certification to city departments of persons whose existing unfitness for showed appointment, indicative as they are of laxity and even of stupidity, give only a hint of what has really been wrong within the Civil Service Commission. The real truth is that Mayor O'Dwyer and his appointees have shown an entire lack of concept of what a central personnel agency and personnel administration should be."

The First 100 Years—1850-1950 (Year Book 1949.) Los Angeles, Of fice of the Mayor, 1950. 98 pp. Illus

Your City and Its Government City Manager's Centennial Year Report. Kansas City, Missouri, Office of the Manager, 1950. 66 pp. illus.

"The First Hundred Years" were completed for Los Angeles and Kansas City in 1950 and so each municipality has published a popular highly illustrated pamphlet to celebrate its centenary. Both succeed in making one wonder how their cities could have been built in ten short decades and effectively dramatize the staggering speed and dynamism of America in pictorial case studies effectively and proudly presented.

City employees received copies of the Kansas City report with their pay checks and a brisk demand was developed among citizens for the 40,-000 copies printed. Public schools received 3,000 for classroom use in view of the report's unusually clear description of municipal services and the forthright recitation of the city's often tumultuous political history.

Municipal Index and Atlas. New York 16, American City Magazine Corporation, 1950. 835 pp. \$5.

Contains a who's who in equipment and supplies with advertising, lists state highway personnel, council-manager cities and their managers, mayors, purchasing agents, city engineers, superintendents of water works, streets and sewage treatment, and police and fire chiefs for cities over 10,000. Includes maps of all the states.

# Additional Books and Pamphlets

Assessment

Recent Improvements in Assessing Procedure. By Dixwell L. Pierce, L. D. Daily, etc. Tax Institute, *Tax* Policy, May-June 1950. 24 pp. 25 pents.

#### Civil Service

Selling Civil Service. Public Relamons for Municipal Civil Service Commissions. Albany 7, New York State Department of Civil Service, Municial Service Division, 1950. 16 pp.

#### Defense

Atomic Attack. A Manual for Survival. By John L. Balderston, Jr., and Gordon W. Hewes. Los Angeles 7, Jniversity of Southern California, Council on Atomic Implications, 1950.

Community Planning for the Peaceime Serviceman. By the President's Committee on Religion and Welfare in the Armed Forces. Washington, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1950. 26 pp. 15 cents. Illus.

#### Democracy

Voluntary Action. Mainstay of a Free Society. Claremont, California, Pomona College, Institute of Public Affairs, 1950. 96 pp. \$1.50.

#### Parking

Teamwork Can Solve the Downtown Parking Problem. By C. T. McGavin. Washington 6, D. C., Urban Land Institute, *Urban Land*, July-August 1950. 6 pp.

#### Planning

Debunk: A Critical Review of Accepted Planning Principles. CPA Symposium. By William Wurster, Hans Blumenfeld, John M. Gaus, etc. Boston, Council for Planning Action, 1949, 32 pp. 35 cents.

Planning in the Metropolitan Area 1950. Summary of Recommendations, Comprehensive Plan Greater Winnipeg 1950. Winnipeg, Metropolitan Planning Commission, 1950. 24 and 27 pp. respectively. Illus.

Recommended Program of Public

Improvements 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955. Philadelphia, City Planning Commission, 1949. 113 pp. Illus. maps.

Today's Marina and Community Planning. By Joseph E. Choate. Washington 6, D. C., Urban Land Institute, Urban Land, May 1950. 3 pp.

#### Public Health

National Compulsory Health Insurance Is Not the Answer. New York 5, Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, 1950. 19 pp.

#### Public Employees

State Employment in 1950. Washington 25, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1950. 12 pp.

#### Race Relations

Instruction in Race Relations in American Colleges and Universities. By Committee on Education, Training and Research in Race Relations of the University of Chicago. Chicago 15, The American Council on Race Relations, 1950. 25 pp.

#### Public Utilities

Economics and Public Utilities. By Eli Winston Clemens. New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1950. xii, 765 pp. \$5.75.

#### Smoke Abatement

Proceedings Forty-second Annual Meeting Smoke Prevention Association of America. Birmingham, Alabama, May 23-27, 1949. St. Joseph, Michigan, John Paul Taylor, publisher, 1950. 188 pp.

#### Taxation and Finance

Expenditures of the State of Oklahoma 1941-42 to 1948-49. Forms of Taxes Levied by the States. Payments to Local Units of Government 1949-50. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Tax Commission, Research Division, 1950. 49, 51 and 13 pages respectively.

Final Report of the Administrative

Survey by the Finance Commission of the City of Boston. Boston, The Commission, 1950. 51 pp.

Fiscal Authority of City School-boards. Washington 6, D. C., National Education Association, Research Division, Research Bulletin, April 1950. 36 pp. 50 cents.

by David M. Wood, Charles de L. Mignault, etc. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, Public Finance, August 1950. 68 pp. 50 cents.

#### Traffic Safety

Crazy Drivers. Detroit, Traffic Safety Association, 1950. 12 pp. \$2.50 for 25 copies, \$4.50 for 100, etc. (Apply Safran Printing Company, 3939 Bellevue Avenue, Detroit 7.)

Operation Safety. Program Kits on Traffic Safety Promotion. September Theme, Child Safety; October, Night Traffic Hazards; November, Pedestrian Safety. Chicago 11, National Safety Council, 1950. Variously paged.

Model Traffic Ordinance for California Cities. Los Angeles 13, League of California Cities, 1950. 33 pp.

Virginia Traffic Accident Facts. Richmond, Virginia Department of State Police, 1949. 32 pp. Illus.

#### Water

Guide to Source Material on Water Pollution Control. Washington 25, D. C., Federal Security Agency, Public Health Service, Division of Water Pollution Control, 1950. 28 pp.

Study on Water Consumption in Westchester County, New York, for the Years 1946 to 1949. White Plains, New York, Westchester Water Works Conference, Water Resources Committee, 1950. 19 pp. Map.

#### CITIZEN ACTION

(Continued from page 474) and Canada, it discusses their "interesting features," and sets forth the constitutions or by-laws of the Chicag Civic Federation, the Municipal Leagu of Seattle and the Citizens Council of

Fort Wayne, Indiana.

The 1950 edition of the Illinois Voter. Handbook (213 pages, one dollar) available from the League of Wome Voters of Illinois in Chicago, Pre pared by Helen Kingsley McNamara the book presents information "o many subjects which are the concerof every citizen." It includes a diges of election laws, a description of th purpose and functionings of political parties as well as information on th structure and financing of local, stat and national governments. Numerou charts diagram the governments of Chicago and Illinois, describe wher the tax dollar goes, and show election and judicial district boundaries.

A Handbook for Town Meetin Members (sixteen pages), published by the League of Women Voters of Am herst, Massachusetts, presents a political history of the town, describes the representative town meeting and par liamentary procedure, and summarize the act under which the town is governed.

The 47th Annual Progress Repor (176 pages) of the Commonwealtl Club at San Francisco describes the club "in tabloid," lists its officials and its 7,000 members, and publishes the 1949 report of Executive Secretary Stuart R. Ward, the votes of the club membership on important question before the public in 1949 (with a list of some important mail balloting since 1922), speakers and topics for Friday luncheon meetings in 1949, and the work of sections (committees with lists of section members.